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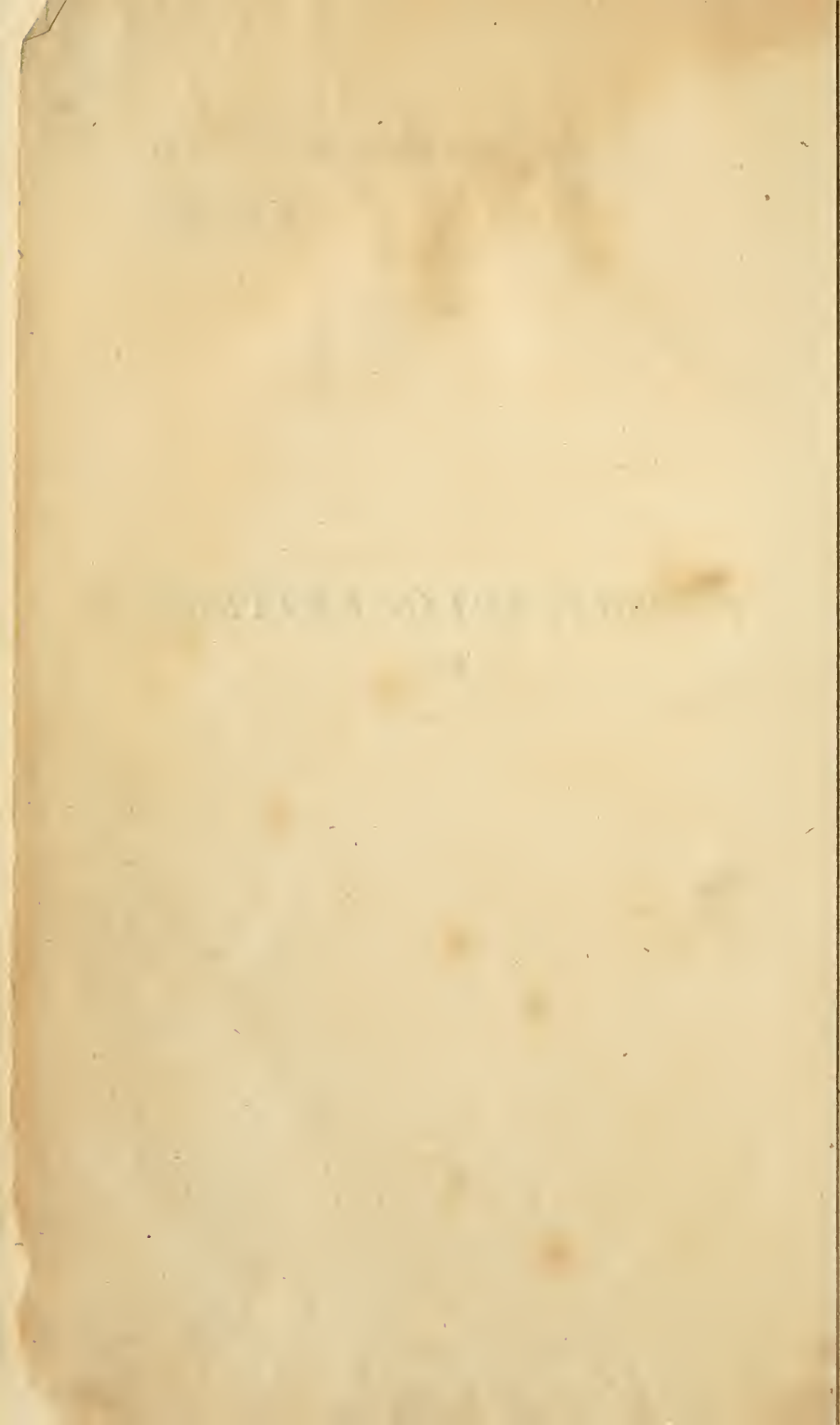


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PRESBYTERIAN LETTERS,

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PRESBYTERIAN

LETTERS

ADDRESSED TO

BISHOP SKINNER, OF ABERDEEN,

ON HIS

VINDICATION

OF

PRIMITIVE TRUTH AND ORDER.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A Preliminary Discourse

ON THE

PRESENT STATE OF THE CONTROVERSY CONCERNING
ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT.

By PATRICK MITCHELL, D.D.

MINISTER OF KEMNAY, ABERDEENSHIRE.

“ I am satisfied, that no form of polity can plead such an exclusive
“ charter, as the phrase *ius divinum* in its present acceptation is under-
“ stood to imply. The claim is clearly the offspring of sectarian bigotry
“ and ignorance.”

DR. CAMPBELL.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE most violent adversaries of Presbytery, in the present times, are the Scotch Episcopalians and the Independents. These two parties seem to be at war with each other; for, like the Jews and Samaritans two thousand years ago, each uses the name of the other as a term of reproach.— But whatever mutual dislike they may appear to entertain, they are, in reality, faithful allies. In their polemical writings, they both pursue the same grand object with equal ardor, I mean, the degradation, in the public opinion, of the established religion of the country; and for the accomplishment of this laudable object, the very same means are employed by both. Both lay claim to a *jus divinum* in favour of their respective forms of ecclesiastical polity, to the entire exclusion of Presbytery; and both found their claim on the scriptures, and the writings of the christian Fathers. Both affect to represent the Established Church as nearly allied, in several respects,

to the Church of Rome; and the Independents scruple not to maintain, that our ecclesiastical polity, for the establishment of which on the ruins of anti-christian tyranny many of our fathers bled, and died, is itself, anti-christian in its form, and tyrannical in its administration. Where shall we find two sects, which appear to be on terms of hostility with each other, and which yet agree so cordially in principles and practice, as the High Church party and the Haldanites? If Mr. Hume, instead of assuming, that *Priests* of all religions are the same, had said, that *bigots* of all denominations are the same, whether they be Priests or not, his candor would not have been so generally called in question.

But there is one point, of no inconsiderable moment, about which our potent adversaries differ in opinion. High Church contends, that Presbytery is too democratical in its constitution to have any pretensions to a divine origin. It seems, indeed, to be one of that church's theological axioms, that no form of government, civil or ecclesiastical, is *of God*, but absolute monarchy alone; an axiom, on which she has, always, most religiously, formed her own conduct. The modern advocates of the congregational scheme, on the other hand, oppose Presbytery on the ground, that it is *aristocratical* in its constitution, and *despotic* in its administration; for, according to this party, no ecclesiastical government has the sanction of scripture, but the government of the mob, or sovereign people.

Be-

Between High Church and the Haldanites, we are placed in the unfortunate situation of Procrustes' captives, and *must* be destroyed, whether we be *long or short*, whether our constitution be democratic or aristocratical. In this dilemma, which is sufficiently perplexing, our spirits are not a little supported by the obvious consideration, that, though our two redoubtable adversaries both *assert* with equal boldness and confidence, they cannot both be in the right, and that, therefore, it is at least possible, that they are both in the wrong.

It is the bold assertions and lofty claims of one of them, only, that I mean to oppose in the following pages.

But, though I have given my Epistles to BISHOP SKINNER the title of *Presbyterian Letters*, it is very far from being my intention to imitate our adversaries, by claiming apostolic honours for Presbytery, as it is established in Scotland. I leave the *jus divinum* to be scrambled for by senseless and arrogant bigots of all denominations, praying heaven to send them, in its own good time, a little more judgment and candor, and a reasonable portion of humility.

I am sensible that scarcely any thing *new* can be suggested, on the subject of controversy between the deceased Author of *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*, and his posthumous adversaries. I have therefore confined myself to the few strictures on

the *present state* of the controversy, which will be found in what I have called *The Preliminary Discourse*.

I am sorry to observe that High Church, a very ancient Lady by her own account! exhibits strong symptoms of that peevish fretfulness and irritability, which are sometimes seen to attend *old age*, and the *decline of our faculties*, and that the more candor and forbearance she experiences from her adversaries, the more her courage rises, and the more blustering and overbearing she becomes. I feel a degree of veneration almost *oriental* for hoary hairs. But I feel no reverence for bad temper and malevolence at any stage of life. Hence I am nowise sparing in the use of the figure, which the Greeks called *Parrhesia*, in my expostulation with the *Vindicator of Primitive Truth and Order*, concerning the picture, which that Prelate has, *in defence of the orders of his own church*, been pleased to exhibit to the world, of his Presbyterian countrymen in general, and of the deceased Author of *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History* in particular. This expostulation is the subject of the *First Part of Presbyterian Letters*.

The Lecturer's opponents are pleased to call the small body of Scottish dissenters, whose orders and ecclesiastical polity they defend, *The Scotch Episcopal Church*, while the Primate of this same Scotch Episcopal Church honours Presbytery with the designation, not of the *Established Church*, but of the

Es-

Establishment, thus unchurching all the inhabitants of this land, excepting only *his own little party*, which alone, it would seem, is *the church of Christ* in Scotland ! The high pretensions of this small number of the *elect* are built, not merely on the divine institution of their ecclesiastical polity, but also on the canonical derivation of the ecclesiastical authority of their clergy. This suggested the propriety of an humble enquiry into *the validity of the orders* of the Scotch Episcopal Church *on its own principle*, which is attempted in Part II. of the following Letters.

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PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.



IN studying the controversy between the advocates of the hierarchy and their opponents, one cannot help observing, with some degree of surprize, that when High Church touches on the *expediency* of her ecclesiastical model, it is with evident reluctance, and great reserve. Even the limited faculties of *man* can discover the wisdom of many parts of the Divine plan of redemption. Why, then, does not High Church instruct us clearly and fully in the causes and grounds of that superiority in point of excellence, which renders a hierarchy preferable to every other form of Ecclesiastical Government? The superior excellence of any scheme of church polity must, I presume, result from its superior efficacy in promoting the great end of the christian religion, the sanctification of the souls of men; or, at least, from its manifestly unrivalled tendency to promote that important end. But, in what respects, and for what reasons, Episcopacy is peculiarly suited to make christians *zealous of good works*, its advocates have not, as yet, distinctly informed us. What particular *clerical gift* is conveyed to a presbyter by the laying on of the hands of a Bishop, which the laying on of the hands of a Presbytery cannot convey? Is the Episcopal gift different from the other in kind? or is it only superior in degree? Does it take possession of the

man's head, and guide him, without the labour of much study, unto all necessary truth, and inspire a divine eloquence in preaching Christ crucified? Does the person ordained by a Bishop find himself endowed with more of the graces of the Spirit, with more profound knowledge of the Christian doctrine, or with greater talents for communicating that knowledge, than the same person would do, if he were ordained by a Presbytery? Or does the whole virtue of the gift, conferred by the laying on of the hands of a Bishop, consist in the efficacy which it gives to the ministrations of the person who receives it? How, then, does it *operate* to the sanctification of the word and ordinances, to the people among whom he ministers? Do we observe a manifest superiority in the effects produced by the ministrations of those who were Episcopally ordained? Do we learn from experience, that, when the sacraments are administered, and the word preached, by those who have not received the Episcopal gift, God withholdeth the increase? There are some passages in the New Testament, which would lead a person of ordinary understanding, who wishes for all possible security in the choice of his religious teacher, to consider the effects produced by the teaching as the principal, if not the sole, criterion of the value of the gift, of which the teacher pretends to be possessed. "By their fruits ye shall know them," says our Lord concerning religious teachers. But this is a test, which is too easily understood and applied; and for that reason, probably, it is overlooked by the advocates of "the sacred hierarchy." Yet, if they would condescend to give us *any* reasons at all for the superiority, in point of excellence, which they ascribe to their own ecclesiastical polity; I mean, reasons that we can, in any measure, comprehend, it would be some satisfaction to us.—But perhaps there may be some mystery here, bearing this inscription, "*Odi profanum vulgus et arceo.*" I have heard that

that when the Pope officiates at high mass in St. Peter's, the efficacy of that magnificent act of devotion depends much on the changing of his Holiness' slippers at certain parts of the service; and we all know how essential it once was to the salvation of christians, both in the West and in the East, that the clergy should submit to the canonical tonsure, which represents the crown of thorns. But the *rationale*, in both cases, is kept, to this day, a profound secret by the initiated; and so also is that of the unrivalled efficacy of the word and sacraments, under the ministry of a Bishop or Priest of High Church. If the advocates of the hierarchy would only be pleased to demonstrate, that the divine model of an Episcopal Church, and the *χαρισμα* which is transmitted to its clergy from the apostles, render the sanctification of the souls of men unnecessary, by saving them without sanctification, we should then cease to interrogate them concerning the causes of the unparalleled efficacy of those *means of grace*, and, acknowledging that they are *mechanical instruments* of salvation, of supreme excellence, like Noah's ark, or a modern life-boat, we should say no more about the matter.

“But,” says the Vindicator of Primitive Truth and Order,* “is not the happy tendency of a hierarchy in the church discoverable, without much research, by all mankind? Is it not, in particular, a thing so plain, that it needs no proof, and therefore I have not been at the trouble of proving it, that Episcopacy is the guard of christian unity, and therefore the bond of peace?”

What does the Right Reverend Gentleman mean by unity? Is it that union of hearts, which results from the general prevalence of christian charity, and which leads the

followers of Christ to realize, in their dispositions and conduct toward one another, the beautiful description of the blessed effects of Love, which the writings of St. Paul present to us?* Not at all. Of all conceivable kinds of *unity*, this is what the Bishop seems to value the least; for he rebukes Doctor Campbell for the regard that *he* betrays for it in his *Lectures*, telling all the world, in terms of sovereign contempt for the judgment of the Lecturer, that “the wounding of charity is his unceasing cry.”†

If I understand our Vindicator’s multiplication of words on the *Church*, on *Charity*, and on *Schism*,‡ he means to teach us, that charity cannot exist among christians, who are not all of the *same* church, and do not see every thing connected with religion, with precisely the same eyes.—According to him, the evil of schism does not so much consist in its “wounding of charity,” and thus educating christians for the future society of none but malicious spirits, as in its dividing of them about modes and forms, and sending one to the church, and another to a conventicle; one to a Bishop, with his Priests and Deacons, and another to “a Parson and his Elders.” By unity, therefore, I apprehend, he means uniformity in doctrine and worship, government and discipline,—that sort of unity, which the famous Bartholomew Act was most wisely intended to establish. And if so, I must request his attention to a fact, which, in the ardour of his zeal against schism, he seems to have quite overlooked—I mean, that from the beginning to this hour, there never was unity among christians upon earth. The Apostles themselves were not “all of one mind,” upon all subjects, and at all times; for Paul withstood Peter to the face, on a point of greater moment,|| than
many

* 1 Cor. xiii. † Vindicat. p. 434. ‡ Id, p.p. 434, 435, et seqq.

|| Gal. ii, 10.

many of those subjects of disputation, which, after their day, were sufficient to set the world on flame. At the only great convention of Christians, that could ever say with truth, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us," we are expressly told,* that there was *much disputing*; which is a presumption, that when the deliberation upon the question from Antioch began, they were not quite unanimous. And who does not know, that when Christians were a small body in comparison of the infidels around them every where; when they were all alike exposed to persecution for their common faith, and when the Apostles were set over them with at least Episcopal authority, there were schisms and heresies, that is, divisions and sects, among them?—Episcopacy the guard of unity! Did not that form of ecclesiastical polity prevail universally, before the first of the Œcumenical Councils was convened? What made it necessary to convene those great assemblies, which, by the way, generally aggravated the disorders which they were called to cure? Was it not heresies and schisms, which Episcopacy could neither prevent nor suppress? Nay, is it not well known, that contests among ambitious churchmen about dignified stations in the hierarchy, gave rise to heresies and schisms, and sometimes to massacres, and to whatever was most suited to bring disgrace on the clerical character, and the christian name?

The most perfect christian hierarchy, the most vigorous sacerdotal monarchy that the world ever saw, is the Papal Supremacy. And yet even this monstrous power was never able to "guard unity," no, not when priestly domination was supported by the most potent auxiliaries of spiritual tyranny, ignorance, superstition, and barbarism.

How has Episcopacy succeeded as a guard of uniformity in England? In no country in the Christian world, excepting Ireland, does the number of dissenters bear a higher proportion to the sons of the church; they have multiplied, as it were, in mockery of the established hierarchy, the all-powerful *guard of unity*. To what is this to be imputed? To the inefficacy of *all* forms of ecclesiastical government for the purpose of preserving uniformity, and to the proud intolerance of Episcopacy in the reigns of Elizabeth, and the House of Stuart. The church clamoured for entire uniformity; it was listened to by the secular power; and true christian unity was destroyed. The great Lord Bacon prophesied to his sovereign (James VI.) that the first violent attempt that should be made to establish uniformity, would prove fatal to unity, and rend the church in pieces; and the prediction was signally verified in the reign of that prince's grandson, when two thousand ministers, and the greater number of their people along with them, were driven out of the church "at one fell swoop."

Who does not know, that High Church and Low Church at present divide between them the Episcopal Bench, and the whole body of the Clergy and Laity? What an edifying pattern of unanimity and divine concord did the two Houses of Convocation exhibit to the people, while those venerable assemblies were, for the punishment of their sins, allowed to meet? And how pleasing a contemplation to every christian heart, is the controversy at present carried on, with exemplary meekness and candour, between the Arminian and Calvinistic interpreters of the *Thirty-nine Articles*?

As for Scotch Episcopacy, which has little else to do but to "guard unity," and speak and write against heresy and schism, it cannot secure the orthodoxy even of all its cler-

gy, who are not all of one mind on some articles of faith, about which the greater number of Christians are agreed.

But, in truth, to speak of *any* scheme of ecclesiastical government as “the guard of unity,” in Bishop Skinner’s sense of the word, is to speak unreasonably. Whence has the Bishop discovered it to be the will of God, that all his rational creatures should be of one mind concerning every thing essential and not essential in religion? concerning every thing clearly and fully, and every thing partially and obscurely revealed? Has their Creator given to them all the same constitution both of body and mind, and the same talents and opportunities? Has he placed them all in precisely the same situation in every respect? Did he intend that, in what concerns religion alone, collision of sentiment should not give occasion to inquiry and discussion, and that there should be no scope for the exercise of humility and candor, and mutual forbearance? * So long as there shall continue to be variety of mind, of talents, of education, of circumstances and situation, among mankind, so long will there be difference of opinion in religion, as well as in philosophy and politics, and in every thing else that is a subject of human speculation. This is the law of our nature, and of our condition; and no ecclesiastical polity can suspend its operation for a single day.

And what are those tremendous evils, which *necessarily* flow from diversity of religious opinions, and professions, and justify the *Vindicator of Primitive Truth and Order*, in calling it “one of the *heaviest* calamities with which mankind “have ever been visited?” † For my part, I cannot think it quite so heavy a calamity as the Fall, which “brought
“ death

* See 1 Cor. xi. 18, 19.

† Page 7.

“ death into the world and all our woe,” or as the idolatry which once overspread the whole earth, save one little corner; or as the spiritual usurpation and despotism of the Pope, or as the ignorance of the dark ages, or even as the late triumphs of Atheism on the Continent of Europe. I acknowledge, indeed, that as the *Vindicator* says * in the sorrow of his heart, the endless variety of religious professions puzzles one to find names for them all. This, it must be confessed, is a hardship, to those, especially, who have not learned what *this* means, “ What is that to *thee*? follow thou me.” But it happens, very fortunately, that our salvation in no measure depends on our finding names for all the religious professions that start up around us.— Hence, if new sects are not at the trouble of finding names for themselves, even let them be “ sects without a name.” Thus we get pretty easily over *one* of the evils arising from diversity of religious opinions. Our *Vindicator*, however, calls our attention to another evil, which is a little more serious. According to him, “ the dangerous and deadly “ thing called Schism is a cutting off, or separating, from “ that ecclesiastical body, of which Christ is the Head, and “ therefore incurs a deprivation of that nourishment and “ strength, which he affords to all his faithful members.” † Really? This is sufficiently alarming to all who are not of the *true Church* in Scotland; for it implies, that they have placed themselves in such an unfortunate situation, with respect to the Divine Head of the church universal, that it is not even in *his* power to convey to them that spiritual nourishment and strength, of which they stand in need! Nay, it is alarming to all christians under the sun, save only those who adhere to the church of which Christ is the Head; and what or where that one church is, has not yet been determined, nor is there any *general consent* upon the matter. As to

* *Vindication*, p. 463. † Page 440.

to the Protestant churches, it is certain, that they are all, without exception, schismatical; and Bishop Skinner is, “by the grace of God,” primate of a church, which is a schismatic of schismatics; for it separated from *us*, after we had separated from Rome. Can any “cutting off or separation” be more complete, than that which took place at the Reformation, when so many nations obeyed the voice from on high, “Come out of her, my people?” Hence, I apprehend, our *Vindicator* will be obliged to admit one or other of the positions which follow: either there was no church, of which Christ was the Head, in the West of Europe, for many centuries before the reformation; or, all protestants are in such a state of schism, as “deprives them of the nourishment and strength, which Christ affords to all his faithful members;” or, finally, his own definition of schism is all nonsense. We shall see afterwards, that the Bishop’s argument in support of the validity of his orders is as much concerned as the salvation of his soul, in his admitting of the last of these positions, to the exclusion of the other two. Let me add, that his character as a Biblical Critic would, by no means, have suffered in the public esteem, by the entire suppression of his explanation of the scriptural sense of the word Schism. Has he produced a single passage of the New Testament, in which it occurs, in the horrid sense that he imposes upon it,—a sense, in which it renders the hope of salvation, through Jesus Christ, precarious and uncertain to all christians equally, be their attainments in faith and righteousness what they may? Not one! But I readily excuse this. No such passage is to be found.

The horror which seems to be excited in the breasts of some churchmen of all professions, by “diversity of religious opinions,” or what they call Schism, cannot, in my opinion,

opinion, be accounted for on any principle that is reputable to the clerical character. To a liberal and truly christian mind, diversity of opinions and professions in religion, presents a contemplation not less pleasing, than the beautiful variety which adorns the face of nature in the material world. Why is a dull monotonous uniformity of sentiment on a subject of deep and universal concern, to be preferred to that variety of opinions, which ever did, and ever will, prevail among mankind? Why should diversity of sentiments in religion give displeasure to any human being? Banish pride and bigotry from the hearts of Christians, and especially of the clergy, of all denominations, and that diversity of opinions, which Bishop Skinner deploras as "one of the heaviest calamities" that ever befel mankind, would be, not merely one of the most harmless things in the world, but a source of much good. But, at any rate, the mind of man scorns all the restraints, that any scheme of ecclesiastical government can impose upon it; and in spite of Episcopacy, or even Popery, there has ever been "diversity of religious opinions" among Christians, and there will be to the end of the world.

It is, I suspect, in jest, that a late ingenious dignitary of the Church of England,* mentions it as one of the advantages of a hierarchy in the church, that it furnishes suitable companions from among the clergy, to christians of all ranks and conditions in human life. If there be much in this, society in general, wherever proper Episcopacy is established, should be distinguished by peculiar sanctity of manners. But what says experience? Do you perceive, when you pass the Tweed, and turn your back on this country of poor presbyterian parity, that you breathe a purer and more devout air, with whatever ranks of men
you

* Archdeacon Paley.

you associate, than you breathed at home? The chance is, that, if the clergy be much in the world, they will become like their ordinary companions, rather than that their ordinary companions will become what the clergy ought to be. "There shall be like people, like priest."* But, in reality, it is the livings of the clergy, and not their ecclesiastical degrees, that make them "worshipful company" for the different orders of society. Give a priest some thousands a-year, and he is admissible into the highest circles, as well as a bishop. Give him such a paltry provision, as some of the English inferior clergy are condemned to starve upon, and no genteel person can be supposed to know him. And it is by no means clear, that the nearer the lowest ranks approach to their clergyman in point of worldly circumstances, they will be the more edified by his conversation, especially in an age and country, wherein *wealth* is almost universally idolized.

I recollect nothing farther that has been urged in illustration of the unrivalled excellence of Episcopacy as a plan of ecclesiastical polity, but what regards chiefly, if not solely, the comfort of the ministers of religion. Bishop Skinner has informed us, after Hooker, that it is a great encouragement to the inferior clergy, "that they can look up for "protection to their bishops from the intolerable contempts "and indignities of the people." But, where there are no inferior clergy, as in the Church of Scotland, they can need no protection. But do the inferior clergy in an Episcopal Church really meet with "intolerable contempts and indignities," merely because they *are* inferior clergy? This is one of the best reasons that can be conceived for *abolishing* the several orders of inferior clergy (as being placed in such an unfortunate situation, that they can neither enjoy private

* Hos. iv. 9.

vate comfort, nor be of any public utility), and for establishing all the ministers of religion on the same footing of parity, on which our Lord's apostles were placed. If they meet with those "contempts and indignities," which the union of vice and poverty is suited to incur, not purely on account of the inferiority of their station, but chiefly for the worthlessness of their characters, they well deserve them; and their bishops act as the enemies of religion and of mankind, when they afford them protection. Let it be observed, that, in a presbyterian church, the ecclesiastical judicatories afford as effectual protection and support to a minister in the faithful discharge of his duty, as can be afforded by the most potent dignitary in a hierarchy. And "for the maintenance of ecclesiastical order and discipline," especially in what regards the good conduct of the parochial clergy, "and the support of that mutual harmony and good will, which ought ever to subsist between pastor and people," our judicatories, in case of complaints, are as accessible as a bishop, and as powerful too. [A]

To Archdeacon Paley's remark, that a hierarchy gives a dignity to the ministry itself, and the clergy share in the respect paid to their superiors, I beg leave to answer, with Cowper the poet; "The dignity a parson derives from the lawn sleeves, and the square cap of his diocesan, will never endanger his humility."

§ 2. But it may be urged, that we are not warranted to reject Episcopacy, merely because *we* cannot discover the superior utility of that ecclesiastical model. This I readily admit. There are some things in creation, whose final causes have not yet been developed by man; but we are not hence warranted to deny that they are the work of an infinitely

[A] See Notes.

infinitely wise Being, or to pronounce them altogether useless. If, then, it can be proved, that Episcopacy is of divine institution, our rejection of it would be absolutely without excuse; although we should never, in time, discover that it is good for any thing. Jesus Christ, who purchased his church with his own blood, had an unquestionable title, to prescribe the form of its government, without instructing *us* in the reasons on which he acted; and we may well believe, that what *He* prescribed is the fittest for us, and the best. The controversy, then, between High Church and us, turns on a matter of fact, which can be ascertained by credible testimony only. Behold the *jugulum cause*. Now, what testimony is credible, what testimony is decisive, but that of *Holy Writ*? No man shall ever persuade me to believe, that what is not to be found in scripture as a condition of salvation, is one of the terms of acceptance with God, through Jesus Christ. If I were to be convinced by reasoning, that any one condition of salvation is either omitted by the sacred penmen, or so darkly revealed, that it is discoverable by the learned only, after long and deep research into the christian antiquities, I must cease to be a christian the moment after. Did not our Lord himself thank his Father, who had hidden the mysteries of the kingdom from the *wise and prudent*, and revealed them unto *babes*? If I can depend on any deduction of reason, I am sure that the same goodness, which disposed the Father of mercies to make known his will to his ignorant and bewildered creatures, must certainly dispose him to reveal it both *fully and clearly*. Nay, the scriptures *profess* to be a *full and clear* revelation of the will of God for the salvation of men. What then shall we think of them, if, notwithstanding all this, it can be proved, that “they nowhere mention in “express and positive terms,” one of the essential conditions of our acceptance with God? Nay, that they do not
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so much as delineate the form “ of that society, which was “ founded by the Son of God for the salvation of mankind ?” Can I, after this, believe one sentence that they contain ? If they contradict themselves on a subject of ineffable importance, shall I be brought into judgment for rejecting their testimony on every thing else ? I cannot do otherwise. I am obliged, by the very constitution of that nature which God hath given me, to distrust, on *all* subjects, the testimony of the person who has deceived me on *one*.

It is, then, with me, and I suppose with every rational christian, a fundamental principle, that the scriptures reveal whatsoever it is necessary for us to believe, and to do, that we may inherit eternal life, and that they reveal it *clearly*; for, otherwise, it would be no revelation, any more than the dark and ambiguous responses of the Delphic Oracle. The Church of Rome contends, that *Holy Writ* is illustrated, and its defects supplied, by Tradition; and some of the Protestant advocates of the hierarchy seem to agree with that church, in as far, at least, as the divine institution of Episcopacy is concerned.* But I have given my reasons for differing from both.

In regard to such of the fathers, whose writings are acknowledged by all to be unadulterated, I have no objection to admit their testimony concerning the external form of the church, or any thing else, which they relate as what they *saw*. As for their opinions upon controverted subjects, I pay the same respect to them, that I pay to the opinions of other uninspired men of equal judgment and candour. When they report alleged facts, which they heard from others, I reflect, that they were as liable to be misinformed,

* See Vindicat. p. 210.

formed, and perhaps, fully as credulous, as we are at this day.

Hence, with the exception of Clement of Rome, and Polycarp of Smyrna, much regard is not due to the testimony of the fathers respecting the form of ecclesiastical government, that obtained in apostolic times. Clement and Polycarp were *contemporary* with the apostles. All succeeding testimony, respecting the apostolic form of polity, is naught in comparison of theirs; for they were eye witnesses of what succeeding writers reported only upon hearsay. The subject of Clement's first epistle, I mean the insurrection of the christians at Corinth against their pastors, naturally led him to speak of *all* the orders of ecclesiastical officers which were appointed by the apostles; and he exacts from the people of Corinth, respectful submission to their spiritual rulers, from this very consideration, that bishops and deacons were of apostolic appointment, and that the apostles, in the institution of these two orders, fulfilled ancient prophecy. Polycarp, in his Epistle to the Philippians, the only writing of his now extant, recommends submission to the *same orders* of ecclesiastical officers, and tells them, that they ought to be subject to their presbyters * and deacons, as unto God and Christ. He does not mention an order superior to presbyters; and, indeed, his measures of subjection absolutely exclude the idea of such an order. We know of none higher than God and Christ.

With regard to Ignatius, another apostolic father; it is certain there was a man of that name, bishop of Antioch, and a martyr. It is admitted, on all hands, that Ignatius of Antioch wrote epistles. But whether one entire sentence
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* Bishop and Presbyter were, in apostolic times, two titles for the same officer.

of what he wrote is to be found in the collection that passes under his name, is exceedingly doubtful. No writer, of *any* party, denies that the Ignatian epistles have been interpolated. Their very number has risen and fallen. And the strongest argument that has been urged in favour of the genuineness of the latest and most severely castigated edition, is, that, in the opinion of the editor and translator, they contain nothing that an apostolic father may not be supposed to have written. Is, then, the absolute impossibility of writing seven or eight letters, which contain nothing that an apostolic father may not be supposed to have written, and of giving them to the world, under the name of a primitive saint and martyr, some time after his death; is the absolute impossibility of such an achievement as this, so clear and indisputable, that it may, very warrantably, be taken for granted?—But the justness of the assertion, that the epistles ascribed to Ignatius, and edited by Vossius, contain nothing that the bishop of Antioch, the contemporary of the Apostles, may not be supposed to have written, is at least doubtful; and the reasoning of those who have called it in question, has not been satisfactorily answered by the Vindicator of Primitive Truth and Order.*—Hence it is almost as childish to remark, that the Ignatian epistles cannot be appealed to as decisive authority on any controverted point, as it is actually to appeal to them.

The only testimony, then, to which we can reasonably appeal in this controversy, is that of the sacred writers, and Clement and Polycarp. Where shall we find other witnesses, on whose testimony we can depend? Are we to trust posterior writers, who differ from Clement and Polycarp? Is it on the testimony of Mr. Hume, who lived and
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* Comp. Lect. on Eccles. Hist. vol. 1, p. 184, et sequ. with Vindicat. p. 224, 225, &c.

wrote some centuries after Henry VII. and not on the testimony of that Prince's contemporaries, that we believe, that Henry landed on a certain day, and at a certain place in England, and erected his standard against Richard III. and afterwards conquered and slew the bloody usurper in Bosworth field? If there were any material discrepancy between Hume's account of those facts, and the account which is found in the records that were drawn up, and left by Henry's contemporaries, who were eye-witnesses of what they recorded; who would not reject the *later* testimony, and receive the earlier as alone authentic? To antiquity I pay the most profound respect on the subject of primitive ecclesiastical government. But what antiquity? Undoubtedly the highest. Is not this rational? Is it not what every candid and impartial enquirer would do? Who knew so well what their master and themselves did and taught, as the apostles and evangelists? Unless you can prove that their contemporaries, whose writings have come down to us, were men of no character, and therefore deserve no credit;* or that the writings ascribed to them are unquestionably spurious; where is the testimony, respecting what the apostles did, that can be equalized, in point of credibility, to the testimony of those, who *saw* what they relate?

I readily admit, that the hierarchy is *ancient*. That the pastors, who came after our Lord's apostles, ceased, at a very early period, to breathe the lowly unassuming spirit of Jesus and his immediate disciples, "it is most true:" and the advocates of episcopacy are at full liberty to draw all the support to their cause, that *can* be drawn from the antiquity

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* Proofs of this sort are sometimes attempted by High Church, though not in the cases of Clement and Polycarp. See, for instance, collected concerning Aerius in *Vindic.* p. 274, 275.

and univerfality of clerical ambition, and prelatical pride. They affect to think the early introduction of epifcopacy into the church, on the fuppofition that it is not a divine inftitution, morally impoffible. By the very fame arguments, which they urge on this fubject, if thofe arguments be good for any thing, they may prove, that the Italian prieft, who has for ages monopolized the title of Pope,* never either claimed the fpiritual dominion of the whole earth, nor had that modeft claim allowed in the churches of the weft. Can a fact more improbable be imagined, than that a *christian* paftor, the fucceffor of one of the fifhermen of Galilee, as the Pope claims to be accounted, fhould have permitted the very thought of an ufurpation, fo arrogant, fo daring, fo abhorrent from the fpirit of chriftianity, to dwell in his breaft for a fingle moment? And what do you fay of the ftupidity, the fupinenefs, the bafe pufillanimity of his *fellowes*, which induced them to yield to this monftrous ufurpation? This is quite inconceivable, and cannot have been! Yet, if there is any truth in hiftory, nay, if we may truft the evidence of our fenfes, this unparalleled, improbable, inconceivable fact, this *moral impoffibility*, did happen. Nay, the Bifhop of Rome, having afcended the throne of univerfal fpiritual dominion, fet his foot on the necks of temporal princes, and difpofed of the kingdoms of the earth at his pleafure; and, in particular, he divided between His Moft Catholic Majefty of Spain, and His Moft Faithful Majefty of Portugal, immense countries in the New World, of which neither he nor they knew fo much as the geographical boundaries, the extent, the names, or the inhabitants!

That

* Till the Bifhop of Rome became the fountain of all ecclefiastical power and dignity in the weft, *other* Bifhops were called Popes, or Fathers, and were addreffed, "Your Holinefs."

That Parochial Episcopacy, that is, the superiority of one elder in a particular church to all the rest, gradually and imperceptibly arose from the respect which, in primitive times, was paid to age, to character, to superior endowments, and especially to priority in point of ordination; or that, as Jerome maintains, it was instituted as a remedy of schism, and (when the disciples multiplied in a city, and the adjoining territory, and rendered the erection of *tituli*, or chapels, in places at a distance from the parish church, absolutely necessary) led to Diocesan Episcopacy; either of these suppositions is infinitely less improbable, than that Diocesan Episcopacy paved the way for the Papal Supremacy, which, all the world knows, is the fact. And here let me remark by the way, that if Diocesan Episcopacy had not crept in, to the subversion of Parochial Episcopacy, the Papal Supremacy had never existed. Who would dream of rising to the Papacy in the Church of Scotland?

The arguments, which our opponents urge in support of the divine origin of Episcopacy, from its high antiquity, leaves the controversy precisely where it found it. As reasoning cannot be opposed to facts; so, in a matter of testimony, it cannot render the investigation of facts unnecessary. Still, therefore, as the New Testament, and the writings of the apostolic fathers, are the most ancient and the most authentic sources of information respecting the apostolic model of church government, the question is, "What is written in *them*? How readest thou?"

§ 3. Before I proceed to make remarks on the mode of interpretation and of reasoning, by which the hierarchy is supported from scripture, and the uninspired writings of antiquity, I cannot help calling the attention of the reader to a remarkable fact; I mean, that the most strenuous ad-

vocates of the hierarchy do not agree among themselves in their interpretation of Scripture, and of the writings of the apostolic fathers.

The author of the Ignatian Epistles had, it would appear, learned from some of the apostles, or discovered from holy writ, that the Bishop presides in the place of *God*, and the Presbyters in the place of the Sanhedrim of the apostles, and that to the Deacons is entrusted the Ministry or Deaconship (*διακονία*) of Jesus Christ.* If Ignatius be right, Bishops are not the successors of the apostles, but God's vicars upon earth; the Presbyters in an Episcopal Church succeed the apostles; and the Deacons, *the servers of tables*, are the visible representatives and successors of the Redeemer of Mankind. But the Anti-Jacobin, and consequently his Metropolitan, do not agree with the Martyr of Antioch. *They* make Jesus Christ himself, while he was in the flesh, the chief governor of his church, having under him the apostles and the seventy as his Presbyters and Deacons; and they teach us, that, after our Lord's crucifixion, the apostles mounted up into *his* place, leaving their original office open to the *seventy*, who, in the Diaconate, were succeeded by the *seven*.

This modern arrangement is considerably more respectful to our Saviour, than that of Ignatius; for it confers upon him the honour of having been a Bishop, which is no small glory! ay, and a universal Bishop too; in which dignity, if we take the word of High Church, whose regard to *hereditary indefeasible right* is uniform and inflexible, He was succeeded by James the Less, whom Paul calls *the Lord's brother*.

But,

* Ep. ad. Mag. cap. 6.

But, unfortunately, Bishop Sage differs as far from the Anti-jacobin, as the Anti-jacobin differs from Ignatius; for *he* contends that, as the church was founded on the resurrection of Christ, it could not well be formed before his crucifixion and death: and, to speak freely, it would have been somewhat singular, if that sacred edifice had been built before the foundation was laid.

Mr. Dodwell partly agrees with Sage, but differs, *toto cælo*, from the *Literary Cenfor*. He is so far from admitting, that the church was founded while our Lord “dwelt amongst us,” that, according to him, it did not assume that permanent form, under which alone it can now save sinners, till after the death of the last of the apostles.!

“ Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites.”

Let me observe here, that Mr. Dodwell, whose profound and extensive erudition, the *Monthly Cenfor* places far above the literary attainments of Doctor Campbell, saw it to be of essential consequence to his cause, to thrust the scriptures altogether out of the controversy about ecclesiastical government. His followers are either less learned, or less sagacious, or less candid; for what Dodwell could find no trace of in holy writ, they find clearly exhibited there. When we call upon those bold and strenuous defenders of proper Episcopacy, to produce to us, from scripture, some examples of churches, in which that form of polity was actually established in apostolic times, we are triumphantly asked, “ Was not James the diocesan Bishop of Jerusalem? Were not the Apocalyptic angels the Bishops of Asia Minor? Were not Timothy and Titus the “ fixed diocesan Bishops of Ephesus and Crete?”

To the two first of these examples, I shall have occasion to advert in another place. In regard to the third, it is a subject of debate among Episcopalians themselves; for some of them, and those not the least respectable, admit that Timothy and Titus were sent to Ephesus and Crete, merely for an occasional and temporary purpose, and left those places, when the purpose of their mission was accomplished: and they treat with just contempt the pretended proof of their Episcopal character, which has been urged from the postscripts of Paul's epistles to those missionaries; postscripts, which are not to be found in any ancient manuscript, and one of which, by calling Timothy the *first* Bishop of Ephesus, expressly contradicts the sacred historian,* from whom we learn, that there were *Bishops* at Ephesus before Paul besought Timothy to abide there for some time. Thus we have, as the great defender of presbytery in the beginning of the last century expresses it, "a civil war among the Episcopal authors," about Timothy and Titus; Dr. Hammond, who makes them metropolitans, Bishop Skinner, the Anti-jacobin, &c. who make them only Bishops, ranged on the one side, and Mr. Dodwell, Dr. Whitby, &c. on the other. "What can *we* do, in the mean time," observes our "champion," "but gather the spoil?"

The testimony of Clemens Romanus, and Polycarp, respecting the form of ecclesiastical government set up by the apostles, are as much a ground of contest among Episcopalians, as the testimony of scripture.

"There was not a Bishop in the world," cries Mr Dodwell, "save James at Jerusaleam, who was a universal Bishop, at the time that Clement and Polycarp wrote their epistles." "You are in a gross error," replies Dr Hammond;

* Acts xx. 28.

mond; "Clement's *Presbyters* were all Bishops; but I acknowledge that there was no middle order of Presbyters in the church at that time." "You talk nonsense," exclaims Dr. Burnet, whom some of his contemporaries of High Church stigmatized as *a true dissenting zealot*, "Clement mentions Bishops and Presbyters, and he means Presbyters by Deacons." To put an end to this "Episcopal scuffle," which cannot but grieve the heart of a genuine High Churchman, our Primate steps in between the two combatants last named, and, with true archiepiscopal gravity, speaketh on this wise. "What! gentlemen, do you fall out about a thing so plain? No doubt, Clement speaks of only two orders of ecclesiastical officers at Corinth, and calls them one while Bishops and Deacons. and another while Presbyters and Deacons.— But do you not observe, that, to shame the Corinthians, who had raised a sedition against their pastors, he calls upon them to contemplate the quiet subordination that reigned in the Jewish church at Jerusalem? How could he have urged *that* to their shame, if there had not been just as many orders in the church at Corinth, as there were in the church at Jerusalem, and not one more nor fewer? Unless this had been the case, *the allusion would not have been proper, nor the inference just.*"* This settles the dispute at once between Hammond and Burnet. It does more. It teaches us, that, if Clement had been recommending domestic harmony to a family consisting of *three* persons, it would have been quite absurd and inconclusive, to urge the example of peace and love exhibited by another family consisting of *four*. "The allusion would not have been proper, nor the inference just." I wonder that our learned Vindicator, who is so correct a judge of propriety of allusion, and justness of inference, has done such manifest injustice to his argument, as to overlook Cle-

* Vind. p. 213, 214.

ment's allusion to the spirit of subordination, which pervaded a Roman army; from which, as well as from the example of the Jewish church at Jerusalem, the fellow-labourer of Paul takes occasion to recommend to the Christians at Corinth, to be in subjection to their Bishops and Deacons. This *allusion* would have furnished him, if he had had occasion for them, with a few more orders of ecclesiastics at Corinth, than ever existed in the Jewish church. But, perhaps, in *this case, the allusion was not proper, nor the inference just.*

Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians, it is acknowledged by all learned and candid advocates of the hierarchy, leaves no reason to doubt, that, when that famous letter was sent to Philippi, there were no ecclesiastics there, but Presbyters and Deacons. But the *Vindicator of Primitive Truth and Order* differs from them. Though Polycarp does not allude to any Bishop at Philippi, past, present, or to come, our *Vindicator* thinks it quite supposable, that there was then a vacancy in the See.* And we may go on to suppose, may we not? that Polycarp scorned to mention the former Bishop, because, like James VI.'s Scottish Bishops of 1610, he was a pagan, not having received Episcopal baptism, nor Episcopal ordination as a Priest and Deacon: for there is no end to supposing. But if the *supposition* of a vacancy should not answer the *Vindicator's* purpose, he has another resource—a resource, that can never fail, when the Bishop of an apostolic church happens to be mislaid, and cannot be found cleverly: the *apostles* were the Bishops of all the churches which they planted, and whose clergy they ordained.† If this be true, the conduct of the apostles, it must be owned, was not quite canonical; for they were most unconscionable pluralists, especially the apostle of the
Gentiles;

* *Vind.* p. 217.

† *Ib.* pp. 214, 215.

Gentiles; and they very seldom resided in any of their dioceses. They did not, indeed, spend much of their time at court, nor at watering places. But, when they were not in prison, they were almost incessantly on their travels;—and like our travellers of fashion in modern times, they kept company chiefly with infidels.

But the Vindicator and his modern allies have a *third* resource, when they are pinched by a famine of Bishops in the apostolic church; a resource unknown to Dr. Hammond and the English translators of the New Testament, who were all zealous Episcopalians. They convert the *messengers of the churches* (αποστολοι των εκκλησιων) who were sent to Rome with gifts to supply the necessities of Paul while he was in bonds,—into *apostles of Christ!* and, without ceremony, place them on the Episcopal thrones of their respective churches. If our learned controvertists be correct in this, may we not infer that their supreme governors were the persons whom the churches, in apostolic times, could most conveniently spare for carrying their messages to distant cities and countries?

To the discordant Episcopal interpretations both of scripture and of the writings of the earliest fathers, which I have now mentioned, many more, of the same description, might be added. But the examples, which I have produced, are sufficient to justify Dr. Campbell's reflection,* “It is a shrewd presumption, that a system is ill-founded, when its most intelligent friends are so much divided about it;” and they shew that the divine institution of Episcopacy is not so very clear from scripture and the apostolic fathers, as its modern advocates affect to represent it. And these inferences are illustrated and confirmed by a curious fact, to which

* Lec. Vol. I. p. 242.

which “the great champion of Presbytery” does not fail to call the attention of his readers;* I mean, that, while Episcopacy was the established religion in Scotland, its defenders aspired to nothing higher than a proof of its *lawfulness*; whereas, when it was pulled down, they found out, somehow, that it is *apostolical*, and therefore *divine*; a discovery, which the Upper House of Convocation in England, although the Lower House was at infinite pains to enlighten the bench of Bishops on the subject, could not comprehend in the year 1702.

Having shewn that the champions of the hierarchy, before they fall forth against the common enemy, would be wisely employed in settling articles of peace among themselves, and ascertaining precisely what they fight for; I beg leave to make some remarks on their mode of warfare.

§ 4. In their appeals to holy writ in support of their beloved hierarchy, our opponents overlook all the leading principles, and general declarations of the divine word, which High Church finds it difficult to reconcile to her exclusive monopoly of all the benefits of the gospel covenant; and they write, as if they were totally ignorant of the most obvious distinctions.

If there is any one principle fully established by the gospel of Christ, it is, that Christians shall be judged at the last great day, not according to the church to which they belong, but according to *the deeds done in the body*. You find nothing in scripture, that is not, in its obvious and natural signification, perfectly reconcileable to this grand and leading principle; nay, the general tenor of holy writ is strikingly illustrative of it. If you say that, of the deeds done in the
body,

* See Anderson's Defence, p. 188.

body, the choice we make of our *Church* is one of which we must give an account, I call upon you to produce the passage of scripture, that tells me so in plain and unequivocal terms. I am perfectly aware, that we are accountable for the use that we make of our understanding in the concerns of religion and virtue; and that if, in the choice of our religious profession, we make conscience yield to interest and convenience, or are determined by any motive unconnected with that sincere conviction, which is the result of serious enquiry, and of deliberation in singleness of heart, we insult Omniscience, and prostitute sacred things. But where, in holy writ, are we taught, that a man's religious profession, from whatever motives of conscience he prefers it to all others, and however steadily he endeavours to conform to its laws, is sufficient, of itself, to destroy him for ever? Is it any where in the whole sacred volume, either expressed or understood, that, if we hope to inherit the kingdom of heaven, we must be subject to a Bishop in an Episcopal Church on earth? If this be a christian duty, why is it not explicitly enjoined in the christian scriptures? Is there *any* other duty omitted? The scriptures profess that they unfold all that we owe to God and man. But on the duty of adhering to a church of a particular construction, they are entirely silent. According to them, *sincerity* in our profession, be it what it may, and purity of heart and life, are all in all. [B] Who will dare to controvert this truth? It is a truth as honourable to our religion, as it is consoling to the heart of every humble and sincere christian. And before *it*, all the trifling disputes about modes and forms, and subordination and parity, which have, from time to time, agitated the christian world, sink into utter insignificance; and, like the contests of children about the respective excellence of their rattles and toys, excite only a smile of ridicule

[B] See Note.

cule or contempt. The explicit admission, on the part of High Church, of this truth, which, indeed, she dares not implicitly deny, would for ever put an end to the controversy about Ecclesiastical Government, and convert all the questions, which have been agitated with keenness, and even rancour, about the form of the apostolic church, into speculations of not much deeper interest to christians, than the question, whether the primitive church ate leavened bread or unleavened in the eucharist. But if her controversy with us be not perfectly nonsensical, a controversy without a subject, the salvation of christians is, in her opinion, fully as "dependent on their minister, and the form of his ministry," as on sincerity in their religious profession, and purity in heart and life.

I cannot say, that Bishop Skinner states the distinguishing tenet of his church with uncommon clearness and accuracy; for he informs us,* that "the institutions of religion derive *all* their efficacy and importance from Christ's blessing and sanctification of them;" from which one is tempted to infer, that *nothing* depends on the minister: but no! The efficacy and importance of baptism and the eucharist, though they depend *altogether* on Christ's blessing and sanctification of them, yet, after all, depend on the hand of the administrator;—who, that Christ may bless his own ordinances, "must be a person duly authorized to bless in the name of the Lord." And who is duly authorized? What a simple question! Who can be duly authorized to bless or curse in the name of the Lord, but a minister, in an Episcopal church, who can trace the canonical derivation of his orders up to the apostles of Christ? If this doctrine be at all suited to answer the purpose for which it is advanced, it must imply, that our Lord *cannot* bless and sanc-

* Vind. p. 103.

sanctify his own institutions, unless the “ administrator be
“ a person duly authorized.”

We have all heard of the *Destiny* of the ancient heathen fatalists, by which Jupiter, and all the *dii superi* and *dii inferi* were fast bound to everlasting, as by a chain of adamant. There is nothing new under the sun. The doctrine of the Scotch Episcopal Church is nothing but the heathen tenet new stamped, and, I cannot forbear to say, rendered infinitely more ridiculous and indefensible, than ever it was in the hands of the Gentiles who “ knew not “ the law.” For the Pagans did not maintain, as *our* fatalists do, that Jupiter himself forged the chain, in which he was bound, and then committed the custody of it to a certain order of his own creatures, authorized, in a certain way, to hold it in *their* hands! [C]

Such is the obstinate blindness of us Presbyterian schismatics, that, notwithstanding all that High Church has yet written for our illumination, we fondly indulge our favourite inclination to believe, that Jesus Christ, instead of committing the power of blessing and sanctifying his own ordinances to the Episcopal Clergy exclusively, and thus raising them above himself, has reserved it in his own hands, and *can* shew mercy to a sincere believer, who is not a member of High Church. But if High Church can prove that this is our *error*, however obstinately we are attached to it,—an error that must ruin us in the end; we must submit to our fate, and say, with the public Lectur, who read, in *his* edition of the New Testament, *We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be hanged*, “ The will of the Lord be done.” Let her, then, produce her “ proofs of holy writ.”—What declaration of scripture does he bring forward to con-
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[C] See Note.

found all her enemies and rivals, and to prove that *she* is the *church*, to whose Clergy alone are committed the power of binding and loosing, and blessing and cursing, and all the keys of the kingdom of heaven? I know of no direct proof from scripture; that she urges, but this, "He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved!"

"To laugh, were want of manners and of grace;
"And to be grave, exceeds all power of face."

"He that believeth, and is *baptized*, shall be saved." Observe that the proof all depends upon one emphatical word, which is therefore dressed in Italics; *Baptized*. But does this single word, dress it how you will, clearly and irrefragably prove, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save Episcopalians only,—and yet not *all* Episcopalians neither; for from the deprivation of the nonjuring Bishops, and other Clergy in England, to the year 1792, there was neither Prelate, nor Priest, nor Deacon in the Church of England, of whom it could be justly said, "This man is BAPTIZED!" But by what wonderful mode of explication is the verse, cited above, made to support the pretensions of High Church? "He that believeth and is *baptized*, shall be saved," surely implies his being baptized "after the *form* and manner pointed out in the commission which Christ gave his apostles, at the very time when he made this declaration. If *baptism* then must be considered as one of the terms, or conditions of salvation, how can it be said to have no dependance on the minister, or no connection with the form of his ministry? Are we to understand our Lecturer's words, as meaning, that our Lord's apostles acquired no particular authority from the commission which he gave them, for making all nations his disciples, by baptizing them," (the commission was
first

first to make disciples of all nations, and *then* to baptize them) “and that the form of baptism laid down in that
 “commission, was not more valid, or more necessary to be
 “observed, than any other form, which might be adopted
 “for the same purpose? Then, to be sure, the external
 “form of government in the church is a matter of no conse-
 “quence;”* and so forth. Behold a specimen of the *critical acumen* of High Churchmen! If I was diverted with our *Vindicator’s* application of Mark xvi. 16. I did not find the commentary much suited to restore my gravity.—Who would suspect that any more is revealed to us in the words so often referred to, than that faith in Christ, which, in scripture language, includes repentance and reformation, because it produces them, along with baptism, which implies the public profession of christianity, will save every man? Nothing more than this, I will venture to affirm, had been discovered, by Protestants, in those words of our Lord, if some unpleasant enactments of the Legislature, soon after the Revolution, had not thrown quite a new light upon them.

But if our *Vindicator* and his allies do not choose to bring forward, in support of the pretensions of High Church, an explicit declaration of holy writ, I will take the liberty of bringing forward a passage, that shews those pretensions to be absolutely without foundation; a passage as little susceptible of various expositions, or of being pressed into the service of High Church, as “Abraham begat Isaac, and Isaac
 “begat Jacob.” “Who, then,” exclaims the apostle of the Gentiles, “Who, then, is Paul? and who is Apollos,
 “but ministers by whom ye believed, even as the Lord gave
 “to every one? I have planted, Apollos watered; but *God*
 “gave the increase. So then neither is *he that planteth any*
 “thing,

* *Vindic.* pp. 153, 154.

“*thing, neither be that watereth ; but God that giveth the increase.** If these words do not declare it to be the mind of the Spirit, that, neither on the orders or degrees of christian Ministers, nor on the external model of the church to which they belong, nor on their personal qualifications, any farther than as they are the instruments of Christ in promoting the faith and obedience of his gospel, the efficacy of God’s word and sacraments depends ; I must disclaim all comprehension of any part of sacred writ, and leave it to the explanation of those, who have spent their lives in learning to solve riddles, and expound mysteries.

I must do High Church the justice to acknowledge here, that some of her keenest modern advocates, though they fight with the Author of *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*, and abuse him, through many pages of virulent invective, do, nevertheless, I suppose, out of pure generosity, yield to him all that he contends for. In reality, they make concessions that are decisive of the controversy.

Mr. Daubeny, who is severe on the Lecturer’s character, as well as his *kirk*, shews the most magnanimous forbearance to his arguments. He condescends to receive, *in a certain qualified sense*, the Lecturer’s principal position, that “the terms of the gospel covenant are no where in scripture connected with, or made to depend on, the minister and the form of his ministry,” although both Mr. Daubeny, and his copier, the *Vindicator*, are much offended by the Lecturer’s asserting this in *plain unqualified language*, that is, by his writing so as to be understood ! The *certain qualified sense* in which Mr. Daubeny receives the declaration of a fact, which he cannot controvert, he takes care not to communicate to the younger clergy, for whose instruction

* 1 Cor. iii. 5, 6, 7.

struction he entered the lists with Dr. Campbell.* He may, perhaps, have been thus cautious and guarded, lest an explanation should not have exalted *High Church principles* in the esteem of such of the younger clergy, as read the scriptures, and presume to think for themselves.

The Monthly Political and Literary Censor of Great Britain is not less kind to the Lecturer's reasoning, than his admirer the Archdeacon; although he treats his character, both as a scholar and a christian divine, with greater petulance and scurrility. Out of the overflowing abundance of his compassion to Presbyterians and Independents, who are floating around him on the stormy waves of the ocean of life, while *he* sits safe and snug in Mr. Jones' ark, he admits, that they may, on a certain condition, be saved without Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, in a right line from the apostles. And the condition is as merciful, as the compassion of this great Censor is endearing. We need nothing, according to him, in addition to faith and good intention, but merely ignorance, provided only "our ignorance be not wilful, but unavoidable;" our belief that salvation depends not on Priests duly authorized, but on God and ourselves, "being the result of real research in those who are capable of it, and not the offspring of indifference and modern liberality." And lest we should suspect him of undue partiality to Presbyterians, because, in compliment to His Majesty, he has bound himself to lend his aid to those, who think themselves obliged to protect and support the Scottish *Kirk*, he tells us, where he has found a doctrine so consoling to us. "From the maxim," says he, "that whatsoever is not of faith is sin, it seems to follow (alas! that he could not be quite sure!) that in matters merely positive, what *is* of faith is inno-

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"cent."

* Daubeny's Prelim. Disc. p. 79, 80.

“cent.” From this maxim he infers, that “though thousands of persons receive the sacraments daily from men, whom he believes to have no authority to administer them, yet if they be, (as he has no doubt of their being) administered and received in faith, they will certainly be available in the sight of Him, who prefers good intention to every thing else.” He adds, “Such Presbyterians and Independents, therefore, as really believe, after due and impartial enquiry, that their ministers are duly authorized by Christ to dispense his sacraments, are, in the opinion of this writer, as safe with Presbyterian or Independent baptism, as they would be, had they been baptized by the Archbishop of Canterbury.”*

The Monthly Censor, (long may he criticize our writings, our religion, and our politics!) has put an end † to the controversy between High Church and us, much more effectually, than if he had proved (a thing that he despairs of ever seeing accomplished), that St. James, who is called the first Bishop of Jerusalem, was not the apostle James, who was styled the Less, but a private disciple, of that name, raised to the Episcopate. He graciously permits (and is it not singularly gracious in so a redoubtable a champion of High Church, to permit!) the divine mercy to accept of faith and good intention, under the ministry of a Presbyterian or Independent “Parson,” in lieu of the potent efficacy of the ministry of a Priest, duly authorized; which last, I presume, supersedes the necessity of faith and good intention; otherwise why should it be more efficacious than

* It is but of late that the Scotch Episcopalians have admitted even the *Archbishop of Canterbury* to be authorized to baptize, &c. But “*Tempora mutantur;*” and so are principles.

† See his altercation with Dr. Campbell’s Biographer.

than its rival? And what can be more easy than the condition,—a *quantum sufficit* of unavoidable ignorance? I suspect, however, that “more is meant than meets the ear;” and that the Anti-jacobin’s belief is, that none but Presbyterian and Independent *blockheads* are likely to be saved.

But be this as it may; we are content to gather up the crumbs of mercy, that are thrown to us by such great men as the Anti-jacobin Reviewer of *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*. We accept the concessions he makes, and believe them to be tantamount to this, “That God hath left it to every christian, to choose his own church, and to put himself under the ministry of those, whom, after serious deliberation, he thinks best qualified to promote his improvement in true piety and virtue, be the form of their ministry, and the derivation of their orders, what they may.”*

We see then, that the modern advocates of the hierarchy give up the *main-point* in our controversy with them. They acknowledge, that whatever the form of the apostolic church was, and however far we depart from it, yet, if we act in faith and with good intention, the ecclesiastical model which we adopt and adhere to, will not deprive us of the benefits of our Lord’s manifestation in the flesh. Then what signifies it whether they or we come nearest to the form of Ecclesiastical Government, set up by the apostles, or what interpretation the writings of the fathers, on the subject, are susceptible of? After the concessions made by the advocates of Episcopacy, I can see no reason why they and we should not shake hands and be friends, saying to one another, “Take your own road to the end of our com-

* See Vind. p. 132, 133, 134.

“ mon faith and hope, till we meet again, to be separated
 “ by modes and forms no more.” To do them justice,
 they seem to desire this amicable termination of our contro-
 versy; for they concede still more to us than I have yet
 mentioned.

§ 5. Our opponents are very far from pretending, that
any specific scheme of ecclesiastical polity is authoritatively
 prescribed, in holy writ, under awful sanctions. Nay,
 they admit,* that the model, which they are pleased to
 call “ apostolical, and therefore divine,” is not so much as
 “ mentioned, in express and positive terms,” from begin-
 ning to end of the New Testament. Can the adoption of
 it, then, be essential to the salvation of all christians? Did
 the apostles and evangelists think it “ *unnecessary* to men-
 “ tion in express and positive terms,” one of the indispen-
 sible conditions of our salvation through Jesus Christ? How
 could this be? In what manner, or by what means, did
 they suppose that we were to find it out? Can the religion
 of nature, as it is called, instruct us sufficiently on this mo-
 mentous subject? Does reason teach us, that, if we be not
Episcopally baptized, *confirmed*, [D] and so forth, we can-
 not be saved? Sound reason does not only not instruct us
 in this article of belief, but has even treated it with the ut-
 most scorn and contempt, as, in this country, at least,
 since the Revolution, the favourite doctrine of disappoint-
 ment, chagrin, and clerical revenge. I pray heaven, that
 if the apostles and evangelists may not “ have thought it
 “ *unnecessary* to mention, in express and positive terms,”
 some other things “ of high importance in the christian
 “ scheme of revelation,” besides “ the divine plan of the so-
 “ ciety which they founded on the model laid down by
 “ their

* Anti-jac. Vol. IX. p. 106, 107.

[D] See Note.

“their blessed Master.” The omission of this “divine plan” does not look well! It bespeaks a carelessness about the everlasting welfare of millions, for whom, they tell us, their Master suffered and died, of which I shall not rashly accuse them, lest I should hear of it again. And let me observe, that to neglect to mention “an institution merely positive,” on the strict observance of which our salvation depends, is more blame-worthy, than if they had passed over in silence some of the moral duties of christianity: for the former can be learned by revelation only; whereas the latter might be found out in some page or other of the law written on our hearts, or of the municipal law of our country.

What if the sacred penmen had accounted it unnecessary to mention, in express terms, the positive institutions of baptism and the eucharist? What should have hindered daily practice and tradition to be as proper and safe vehicles of those institutions, as of the divine plan “of the society founded by the Son of God for the salvation of mankind?” [E] When the church, in the age of the apostles, saw those first missionaries, or the persons to whom “they delegated their authority,” *tossing converts into a river*, as the Literary Censor expresses himself with pious reverence, they could never forget the genuine apostolic “*form and manner*” of this striking ceremony; and they would remember it the better, because, if the Anti-jacobin’s mode was really practised, it probably happened, that several were drowned in the very article of their introduction into the church.

But if we consider what has actually happened in regard

to the mode of administering baptism and the eucharist, and in regard to the varying notions of christians concerning their nature and design, even although they are “mentioned in express and positive terms,” and particularly described in holy writ; we have no reason to doubt, that, if it had pleased the sacred writers to omit mentioning them in the scriptures, and to entrust the conveyance of them, from age to age, to tradition, after they were, for a certain time, “daily exhibited in practice,” they might have confidently depended on their accurate transmission to future generations, in all their primitive purity and simplicity!

There are more churches than one, in which the words of our Lord, “Do this in remembrance of me,” are considered to mean, “Offer this as a sacrifice for the remission of your sins,”—and in which, “Take, eat, drink ye all of it,” are converted into “Give this bread and wine unto God in sacrifice, elevating and waving it before his altar; and then consume it yourselves, as a commemorative sacrifice, or an expiatory sacrifice, or a feast upon a sacrifice, or any kind of sacrifice that you please; only it is, and must be, a sacrifice of some kind or other.” And in the church of Rome, the eucharistic bread and wine, nearly ten centuries ago, but not earlier, became the real body and blood of Christ; [F] and strange to tell! in process of time, both, by a wonderful metamorphosis, dwindled into a dry wafer, which the Priest lays upon the tip of the communicant’s tongue! the administrator himself, for a vast variety of reasons, being the only disciple who has the privilege of partaking in the eucharistic cup; the wafer conveying the wine, as well as the bread, to all but him!

Bap-

[F] See Note.]

Baptism, also, has shared much the same fate. It consisted originally in immersion in water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Whether *trine* immersion, that is, a distinct immersion, when the administrator pronounces the name of each of the persons of the blessed Trinity, was the apostolic practice, I do not certainly know; only it is mentioned by Tertullian as the practice in his time,* and the fiftieth apostolic canon expressly enjoins it under a heavy penalty: it is yet practised by the Copts, according to Father du Bernat. But, in addition to the simple rite of immersion in the name of the Creator, and Redeemer, and Sanctifier of Mankind, the church, at an early period, discovered an improvement upon our Lord's institution, and appointed god-fathers and god mothers; an innovation which Tertullian disliked,† and which, it would appear from Justin Martyr's second apology, was not known in his time. To god-fathers and god-mothers exorcism was soon added. This, again, consisted in the Priest's breathing in the face of the person to be baptized, on which the devil, who it would appear, has an antipathy to a Priest's breath, or a dread of it, took fright, and run off in great haste. When Satan was thus dislodged, the baptismal water was consecrated,‡ and then the convert, or infant, was baptized. Sprinkling, though it is not baptism, was not accounted unlawful, in the case of sickly infants, or of adults who were confined by disease. The Chrism, or unction, was, in very early times, administered at baptism, and the sign of the cross adopted; and then

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came

* De Coron. Milit. et adv. Prax.

† De Baptism.

‡ I am curious to know, whether John the Baptist consecrated the river Jordan, or Philip "the certain water," in which he baptized the Ethiopian Convert. Does High Church know any thing about it?

came imposition of hands, or confirmation, as a necessary appendage of the initiatory right. Nor was this all. For Tertullian * informs us, that so early as his time (about the end of the second century) baptism was not considered to be complete, till the neophyte had solemnly eaten honey and milk as a religious banquet, and abstained from the bath a full week: and in the time of Cyprian, it was accounted necessary, in order to secure the full benefit of baptism, that the baptized should very soon partake in the eucharist. Accordingly he tells us, † that even infants were carried to that sacred institution, and, in some cases, had the eucharistic wine poured down their throats by force;—an operation at which, he says, he was once present himself. The practice among the Copts, of the Priest dipping his finger in the chalice, and putting it to the mouth of the infant, whom he has just baptized, appears to me to be an improvement upon the ancient customs. I say nothing of the torches, the candles, the salt, and other *wares of the whore of Babylon*, as our first reformers in Scotland would have called them, with which the church of Rome has been long in use to disfigure the rite of baptism, and to make it a ceremony very different from that which Philip made it, when he baptized the Ethiopian eunuch.

And now I beg leave to put the following questions to our Vindicator, and the Anti-jacobin. If christians departed so early from the original simplicity of those positive institutions of our religion, which are explicitly enjoined, and minutely described, in the New Testament: could the apostles and evangelists, without being unfaithful to their Master, and both unjust and cruel to the souls of men, and thus incurring the most aggravated guilt, have trusted, to
 mere

* De Coron. Milit.

† De Lapsis.

mere tradition, the conveyance of an institution, fully as essential to the salvation of christians, in the opinion of High Church, as baptism and the eucharist; nay, without which baptism and the eucharist cannot be blessed and sanctified? Were the apostles, or was the Spirit, that descended upon them in tongues of fire, ignorant of the tendency, which there is in human nature toward superstition and will-worship? Did they not know, that, without some written rule, to which reference may be had, from time to time, for rectifying the abuses and corruptions, wherewith the folly and depravity of man insensibly pervert the institutions of God, those abuses and corruptions might be perpetuated to the end of the world? Had it not been for the scriptures, which the church of Rome was permitted to withdraw from the unlearned, but not to destroy; whence should we have been blessed with the Reformation, which we hail as the second rising of the Sun of Righteousness upon the earth? Did not an apostle prophesy, that it was to the scriptures that a benighted world should owe that glorious and beneficial change?† and was not the prophecy verified at the Reformation?

Let me ask farther; Had not the christian clergy, in early times, a stronger temptation to depart from the modest and humble simplicity of the apostolic plan of church polity, and to set up a more splendid and magnificent model, than to load the sacraments with fopperies of their own invention? Might they not have done so with greater safety to their own reputation, and better success, since, as it is allowed by all, the scriptures neither clearly and expressly delineate any model of ecclesiastical government, nor recommend one as more acceptable to God than another?

And

† 2 Thess. ii. 8.

And would not such of them who were authors, and occupied *high stations* in the church, take care to justify, in their writings, those innovations, in consequence of which *they* had been raised to the pinnacle of dear ecclesiastical power? Observe how coolly Tertullian, Origen, Aërius, Jerom, Hilary, and other Priests and Deacons among the Fathers, write in favour of the hierarchy, in comparison of those Fathers, who had risen to the acmè of clerical ambition, the Episcopate. Not one of the five just named speaks of the hierarchy as having been from the beginning. And who can tell what unfair means may have been used, by dignified and ambitious ecclesiastics, to suppress all the testimonies of early writers against Episcopal usurpation? How soon did ecclesiastics begin, and how long have they continued, to refer to apostolic institution what the apostles never instituted, and never thought of? The extravagant pitch of impudence to which the church of Rome carried this daring imposition, is well known. You cannot mention one papal usurpation, which has not strenuous and unblushing advocates in the papal church, and scarcely one, that has not been pronounced, *ex cathedrâ*, “apostolical, “and therefore divine.”

Nothing can be conceived more futile than the reasoning by which some of the keenest defenders of Episcopacy pretend to account for the acknowledged silence of holy writ on the subject of the government of the church, as well as of that of the state. “It seems,” says Bishop Skinner, as the humble plagiarist of the Anti-jacobin, “to be altogether “inexpedient to delineate in theory, what is daily exhibited “in practice.”—Indeed! Moses was of another mind. When the Jewish hierarchy and worship were set up, they became visible to all, being “daily exhibited in practice.” Did the great Legislator of the seed of Abraham think this
enough

enough? No. He delineated the theory of the Jewish hierarchy and worship in writing, by *divine direction*; (indeed, it has been supposed by some, that, for the accomplishment of this very purpose, the art of writing was *revealed* to Moses) and so minute and accurate is his delineation, that not so much as a pin in the tabernacle is overlooked or forgotten; although Moses by no means hangs the salvation of the Jews on the pins of the tabernacle, as High Church makes the salvation of christians dependent on “the carved work of *her* sanctuary.”—Our *Vindicator* seems to be shocked with the impiety of the Lecturer on *Ecclesiastical History* calling the christian religion “a more rational and divine dispensation than the Jewish.”* I trust it will not give offence, if I presume to call the christian religion a dispensation *not less* rational and divine than the Jewish. I beg, then, to know, how it came to pass, that the Christian Legislator, and his first ministers, exerted less care for the preservation and transmission of *their* scheme, than Moses exerted for the preservation and transmission of *his*. My curiosity to be instructed on this point is the greater, because the Jewish dispensation was not, like the Christian, intended for all men in all nations and ages, to the end of the world.

We are farther informed, in illustration of “the inexpediency of delineating in theory what is daily exhibited in practice,” that “the constitution of the christian church, however important in itself, did not require to be particularly insisted on in the writings of the New Testament;”—why? “Because it must have been easily known, and well understood by the persons, for whose immediate use those writings were originally intended.”†
Really?

* Vindic. p. 134.

† Id. 133.

Really? Then I see no reason for the apostles and evangelists writing any thing at all. If they meant to confine the benefits of the gospel to their own converts and contemporaries, it was easy to make *them* acquainted with it without writing a word. If, on the other hand, they wished this evangelical institution to survive their own age; and, for that purpose, committed it to "faithful" writings, as well as to "faithful men," I cannot account for their omitting any one matter, of essential importance, more than any other: nay, I cannot account for their omitting any thing, in the least degree conducive to the salvation of christians, which they had heard from their Master, without ascribing the omission either to treachery, or to a criminal indifference to the success of the christian religion in saving them that believe; or, finally, to their not having been under the direction of that unerring Spirit, whom their Master had promised to send, and by whose influence they pretended to be guided.

But, why was it "unnecessary" to describe the hierarchy to the immediate disciples of the apostles? "Because those disciples were converted Jews, and converted heathens." They were so, indeed; and I do not well know where the apostles could have found disciples, but among Jews and Heathens; for there were no Mahometans in those days. But the circumstance of their being converts from Judaism, and pagan idolatry, I should think as good a reason for delineating to them in writing, the "divine model" of the church, as for committing any thing else to writing for their use; not to mention, that the sacred penmen probably expected, that their writings might survive their own times, and be of some service to christians, who might come after their "immediate disciples." No. "Their converts had learned all that was necessary on the subject of church govern-
ment"

“ment *before* their conversion.” Indeed? How came this? “A great majority,” says the Anti-jacobin, “of the people, for whose immediate use the writings of the apostles and evangelists were originally intended, were either Jews by descent, or profelytes to the Jewish religion, before they became christians.” Stop a little, Mr. Anti-jacobin, and let us know who told you this fine tale. Were a great majority of the Roman, Corinthian, Galatian, Ephesian, Philippian, Colossian, Theffalonian, converts, either Jews by descent, or profelytes to Judaism? If they were, be pleased to explain to us, why Paul was called the apostle of the Gentiles, as Peter was named the apostle of the circumcision. Tell us also, if you please, for whose “particular use” the gospel written by Luke, one of Paul’s fellow-labourers, and ordinary companions in the ministry, the Acts of the Apostles, the gospel according to John, the three Epistles of John, and the Apocalypse, were originally intended. The gospel according to Matthew, which is commonly believed to have been written in the Hebrew language, the gospel written by Mark, whom Papias calls the interpreter of the apostle of the circumcision, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of James, and the First Epistle of Peter, were, no doubt, originally intended for the immediate use of the Jews and Jewish profelytes: But I know of no more of the books of the New Testament that were intended for the use of converts from Judaism.

But how came Jews, and profelytes to Judaism, to be so well instructed concerning the constitution of the christian church, that they had no use for any written documents upon the subject? “Because to them the form and order of the Priesthood were as familiar as the performance of the daily service of the sanctuary.” I grant, that the form and order of the *Jewish* Priesthood were quite familiar

to Jews, and profelytes to their religion. But what had this to do with the *form* and *order* of the christian ministry? "The services of the temple, and the form and order of the Priesthood, *they knew*, were to be considered as types and "shadows of the *good things* to come under the gospel." Did they so? Pray, who demonstrated to them, that a hierarchy under the gospel is a *good thing*? This is a demonstration which, I am surprized that High Church did not proclaim long ago to the ends of the earth, to the confusion of all gainfayers like Corah. But we are here concerned with a fact, and not with a demonstration. Did the Jews, converted by the apostles, *see* the model of the Jewish Priesthood actually set up in the christian church? If they did, is it not natural to look in the New Testament, for some allusions to the immutability and perpetual duration of that form, to say nothing of an explicit declaration that it was never to be altered or abolished? But neither the allusion nor the declaration can be found. The scriptures have left it to the Rev. Charles Daubeny, author of *A Guide to the Church*, to infer the immutability and everlasting duration of the *form* of the Jewish Priesthood, from the unchangeableness of the divine nature; with which, however, he must admit, that the entire abolition of the Jewish religion itself is quite inconsistent: for it was actually abolished. If Mr. Daubeny reasons conclusively, we may infer, that the metamorphosis of a human body into the shape of a camel or an elephant, implies no suspension of any law of nature, for the continuance of which we depend on the divine immutability, provided only the external form of the house, in which the creature was wont to lodge, be not altered! It is an indisputable fact, that not so much as one name of office in the apostolic church, borrowed from the Jewish Priesthood, is to be met with in the whole New Testament, save only that of "the
 "High

“ High Priest of our profession, who is passed into the heavens.” [G] This sole High Priest of Christians is declared in the Epistle to the Hebrews, which explains the prophecy concerning him which we find in the CX. Psalm, to be “ an High Priest for ever,” not after the order of Aaron, but “ after the order of Melchizedeck,”—two orders, which the apostle employs a whole chapter * in proving to be unlike each other in every respect; a chapter, wherein he asserts, that the Priesthood was changed, which inferred the necessity of changing the law relating to it. †

Our adversaries acknowledge all this. But they deduce from it a conclusion the most extraordinary that is, I suppose, to be met with in any controversy that ever was agitated. “ Viewing the religion of their fathers in this light, “ as *nothing else in fact but christianity under a veil*, [H] these “ converted Jews, or Jewish profelytes, would *naturally* infer, from the little that was said on the subject, that the “ same orders of Priesthood were to be retained under the “ gospel, that had been established under the law.”

What! would they *naturally* infer this from the apostles and evangelists never once mentioning the continuance of these orders, directly or indirectly, expressly, or incidentally, and never borrowing so much as a name of office from the Jewish Priesthood? From the silence of the scriptures on the subject of the Christian Priesthood, the converted Jews would naturally infer, if they were in their senses, that *no* order, much less different orders, of Priesthood, were ever meant to be set up in the christian church, whose only Priest, “ by one offering, hath for ever perfected them that are sanctified,” and can have neither successor

[G] See Note.

* Heb. vii.

† v. 12.

[H] See Note.

for nor delegate, "seeing he ever liveth to make continual "intercession for us." If the apostles instituted a Christian Hierarchy similar to the Jewish, by not only concealing their intention to do so, but industriously avoiding, in the ministry they actually established, the use of all the names of office in the Jewish Priesthood; it must be acknowledged that they adopted a mode of legislation altogether unexampled, either in ancient or modern times, and departed, as far as they could, from the example set them by the Lawgiver of the Jews; for which, it is probable, they had some respect, although they did not think proper to shew it on this occasion.

But a short word with our Vindicator and the Monthly Censor. Can either of you, Gentlemen, inform me, who or where "those Christians" were, "who perished in the "gainfaying of Corah?"* and by whose direful end, you insinuate, the converts from Judaism were frightened into a strict adherence to the orders of their ancient Priesthood, as a child, when it is scared, "clings the closer to its mother's breast?" I have a great desire to know something of their history, of which, I am ashamed to say, I am intirely ignorant. No person can suspect the Anti-jacobin of bringing forward, in argument, a fact, which he is not prepared to explain and substantiate, nor would *Primus* have borrowed a doubtful fact from him, however much he is in the practice of borrowing reasons. It would be great condescension in either of these learned Gentlemen, to let us know in what part of the world *their* gainfaying christians perished, and also upon what occasion; whether they perished in a sedition raised against the civil powers (an occurrence by no means rare among the Jews), to which Jude
seems

* Vind. p. 138.

seems to refer in the eighth verse of his Epistle; or in the fury of schismatical insurrection against ecclesiastical dignities; whether they fell by the edge of the sword in an "apostolical, and therefore divine" crusade, that was proclaimed against them, or were swallowed up alive, like Corah and his company?—Tell me this, great Political and Literary Censor,

"—— Et eris mihi magnus Apollo."

This part of our adversaries' reasoning is only laughable. What follows is extravagant, and makes one stare.

Having, as they presume, accounted satisfactorily, for the apostles and evangelists thinking it unnecessary to give the converts from Judaism any delineation, in writing, of "the plan of that society, which was founded by their Master;" they next proceed to shew, that this was equally unnecessary for the information of the converts from heathenism. Whence, then, did *they* learn the indispensable necessity of three orders of ecclesiastics in the christian church, rising above one another in rank, like the steps of a ladder? Whence—but from the higher and lower orders, which they had been so long accustomed to, among the men and *women*, who were appointed to direct the idolatrous services of heathenism? whence,—but "from their having been so long accustomed to look up to a *Pontifex Maximus*?" says the erudite and sagacious Anti-jacobin.

After such an education as they had received in their unconverted state, it would, I own, have been a work of supererogation to give the converts from heathenism any instruction, either by word or writing, concerning the "*divine model* of the church." And hence it appears, that pagan idolatry, as well as the law of Moses, was "a school-master to bring men unto Christ." I never knew any of

its sacred uses before : and the apostle Paul seems to have been fully as ignorant of them, as I was till the year of our Lord 1803. In his first chapter to the Romans, the apostle presents to us a catalogue of the *bad* effects of heathen idolatry, and truly, a frightful catalogue it is. But of its good effects, or sacred uses, speaks he not a word ; very probably, because, as I said just now, he knew nothing about them.—But this is not all.

The converts from heathenism, who had been accustomed to higher and lower degrees among the Priests of Saturn and Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, Apis, Isis, and so on through the whole Pantheon ; and also had been used to look up to a *Pontifex Maximus* ; “ when they saw the worship and discipline of the church conducted by the three “ orders of Apostles, Presbyters and Deacons,” (for there was, unquestionably, an apostle for *every* individual church!) “ could not fail to believe, that this plan of polity would “ be permanent under the gospel :” why ? Because it had been instituted, long before, for the purpose of conducting the discipline of heathen idolatry, and the worship of Jupiter, and the other abdicated deities ? One should think this the only reason that the converts from heathenism could have for thinking that a hierarchy would be established, and be permanent, under the gospel. But no ! They had quite another reason ; and it was, that “ a similar establishment “ had been under the law, while it remained in force.”—Admirable ! What did converts from heathen idolatry know about the law, or its establishment of Priests ? Were the heathen of all ranks, and in every part of the Roman empire, thoroughly acquainted with the law of the Jews ? or were they such ardent admirers of that singular people, that they eagerly studied their ecclesiastical polity ? Were not the Jews and their religion equally and generally despised

pised and detested? But, admit that a few of the converts to christianity among the heathen *did* know something about the Jewish law; when the purposes of Providence in giving it to the Jews were accomplished, and its services abolished, was it not natural to conclude, that the offices, which were instituted for conducting those services, were intended to be abolished also; and that it would have been downright absurdity to perpetuate an establishment of officers, after their functions were done away, and nothing was left for them to do? No. "This the heathen converts could not believe to be acceptable to that God of order, from whom both the law and the gospel proceeded."—More and more admirable! The law itself might be abolished; the Priests might be obliged to turn their backs upon the altar; the altar itself, its sacrifices and its oblations, might be annihilated; and the temple might be demolished, never to be rebuilt again, without any departure from that *uniformity* in the plan of man's redemption, of which High Church speaks so often, without knowing what she says: but the form of the ministry could not be altered, without introducing into the plan of man's redemption, a confusion and disconformity, of which the God of order cannot be supposed to be the author; and we must for ever have High Priests, or *pontifices maximi*, ordinary Priests and Levites, although we have neither temple, nor altar,* nor sacrifice, nor any one religious office, which requires a Priest (*iegsa*, or sacerdotem) or Levite to perform it. *This is order.*

It is by the reasoning upon which we have taken the liberty of animadverting, that the modern advocates of Episcopacy attempt to remove the objection to their system, which

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* The Christian Altar is the Cross of Christ. See Heb. xiii.

which arises from the fact, a fact not denied by themselves, that the sacred writers nowhere prescribe any specific plan of ecclesiastical polity, and do not so much as "mention," "in express and positive terms," the plan which they themselves adopted in their own age.—Before I quit this part of our subject, I must beg leave to ask High Church, since she *will* have her clergy to be Priests, for what reason she does not take the Priesthood of Christ as her model, instead of the Jewish Priesthood, which was only typical of that of our Lord? What more congruous and reasonable, than that christians should form their Priesthood on the Priesthood of Christ? Is there common sense in continuing the type or figure, after the person or thing typified and prefigured has actually appeared? Jesus Christ, who was typified in the Priesthood of Aaron, and prefigured in the legal sacrifices, came in the flesh eighteen hundred years ago, and accomplished all that was foretold of him by the prophets, and prefigured in the law. He thus verified the prophecies, that men might believe in him, and dismissed the law, as a dispensation which had fulfilled the grand purpose of its institution, and was, therefore, of no farther use to mankind. Nay, Providence has so ordered, that the services of the law, which were typical of *Him*, have been discontinued, over all the earth, for more than seventeen centuries. Does High Church say, that the Aaronic Priesthood *shall* live, in spite of the full accomplishment of the chief purpose of its institution, and in spite of the *fiat* of eternal Providence, by which it is abolished, without asking the consent of High Church? Let her *have* her Priesthood, since it must be so. But let that Priesthood be *Christian*, and not Jewish; substantial, like that of Christ, and not a shadow, like the Priesthood of Aaron. The Sun of Righteousness shines in the full blaze of his meridian splendor. Have we any use for the morning twilight to forebode.

bode his coming? If the ministers of High Church be resolved, in spite of common sense, to be Christian Priests, let them remember, that the altar, on which Christ offered sacrifice, was his *cross*, and that he was *himself* the victim.

§ 6. It is a curious fact in the history of theological controversy, that, though the advocates of the hierarchy acknowledge, as we have seen, that our only infallible teachers, in things pertaining to the kingdom of God, do not mention, “in express and positive terms,” the plan of ecclesiastical polity which they themselves formed; yet those controvertists pretend to find, what they are pleased to call, “the apostolic, and therefore divine” model in the New Testament. To find an institution in a book, wherein it is not “mentioned in express and positive terms,” manifests no common degree of sagacity. But admit the *apostolic* model to be, not only mentioned, but fully and clearly delineated by the sacred penmen. Does it hence follow, that the universal adoption of that model is essential to the salvation of christians? No surely, unless the adoption of it were clearly and authoritatively prescribed as a christian duty. The law published by the apostles, in the name of Christ, is one thing; *their* practice is quite another. The apostles held communion with the Jewish church, till, by a sentence of excommunication, they were compelled to desist. They were, indeed, commanded by their Master to do so. But do modern Bishops think themselves concerned either in the command or the example? *They* do not attend the synagogue every sabbath day, nor do whatsoever the Scribes and Pharisees, who sit in Moses’ seat, enjoin them, although they have never been cast out of the synagogue. The apostles were universal Bishops, and their office was ambulatory: “Go and teach *all nations*.” But from the days of the apostles to this time, the dignitaries of High Church,

Church, with the exception only of the famous *College Bishops* of Scotland; have never been considered to be Bishops of all the world: and as for setting out, without purse or scrip, or change of apparel, to preach the gospel to unconverted nations, they have not been suspected, so far as I know, of any violent inclination to such Quixotism; and have left those apostolic labours to be borne by such heroes as Olaus Frigueson, king of Norway. The apostles were all circumcised Bishops. Yet their successors do not think it their duty to submit to that operation. The apostles not only submitted themselves to a military despotism, which was the form of civil government in the Roman empire in their day, but also commanded all their disciples to submit to the powers that then were. Has this been considered as stamping the divine sanction on that form of civil government, and obliging all christian ministers, in all ages, to prefer a military despotism to every other kind of regimen? But, if I were to point out *all* the discrepancies between the practice of the apostles, and that of the Bishops of High Church, who pretend to be their successors in office; I should fill a volume fully as large as *Primitive Truth and Order Vindicated*. Those prelates conform to the example of their illustrious predecessors; just as much as they find it convenient for themselves, and suitable to the present state of the church, and no more: and yet they will not allow others, who happen not to be of their mind on every subject, the same liberty! Where there is no explicit command, the practice of the apostles, in matters of order, is entitled to the most profound respect; for we may well believe, that it was wisely suited to the situation of the church in their time. But the church is not now, in all places, in the same circumstances in which it was in the days of the apostles. Therefore, the plan of ecclesiastical polity which *they* adopted in their own times, and adopted, as we shall see

see by and by, from motives of expediency, they might not think expedient, in every instance, in the present day. It is, for example, not at all unlikely, that, in no city or village of this island, they would find a plurality of Bishops so expedient in the nineteenth century, as they found it at Ephesus before Paul finally left Asia Minor; and whether they would do so or not, it is certain that High Church, who speaks as if she had been of their privy council, sees no necessity for such an establishment. And, upon the whole, if the apostles had known, that one particular plan of government is not only suited to the circumstances of the church in all ages, and in all possible situations, but absolutely essential to the salvation of christians; they would undoubtedly have both delineated it, and enjoined the adoption of it as the will of God. To deny this, is to call in question the credibility of the gospel. In reality, though High Church “meaneth not so, neither doth her heart think “so;” by maintaining that *her* ministers, and the form of their ministry, can alone secure to christians the benefit of what Christ purchased for them with his blood, while, at the same time, she acknowledges that her hierarchy is, nowhere in scripture, either prescribed to all Christians, or so much as “mentioned in exprefs and positive terms;” she lays the axe to the root of the credibility of holy writ, and supports the cause of infidelity with vigour and effect. This consideration could not fail to have great weight with the deceased Lecturer on Ecclesiastical History. It was, in all probability, his chief, if not his only reason, for combating the peculiar doctrines of High Churchmen. And it became the victorious defender of the credibility of the gospel miracles against the infidel Hume, to defend the credibility of the gospel history in general, against that philosopher’s self-deluded auxiliaries.

§ 7. In searching for the apostolic model of church government in the New Testament, where, they admit, it is not "mentioned in express and positive terms," our opponents overlook a very obvious distinction, and confound the offices, which Christ established in his church for the conversion of Jews and Gentiles, with those offices, which the apostles established in the church for the preservation of the evangelical institution, and its transmission to future ages. Were both the establishments, now mentioned, the very same? or were they intended to be equally permanent? That they were not the same establishment, is manifest from the consideration, that their respective ends were very different, and required, for the accomplishment of them, very different qualifications in the officers. And that they were not intended to be equally permanent appears, not only from their respective ends and purposes, but from this indisputable fact, that they did not both continue. Of all the officers named by Paul * as having been *set* in the church, and *given* to it by Almighty God, there was not one, whose powers and endowments (which the apostle declares to have been supernatural) nay, whose very name, survived the first age. Does High Church tell me, after Theodoret, that Bishops, who were the successors of the apostles, abstained from the assumption of the name out of *humility*? Did the humility of Bishops increase, as the church advanced in years? What says ecclesiastical history? Listen to Eusebius. † Nay, hear Origen, an earlier writer than Theodoret, or even Eusebius. Look into his Commentary on the Twentieth Chapter of the Gospel of Matthew; and if he was not as vile a calumniator as he was esteemed a heretic by

* 1 Cor. xii. Eph. iv.

† 1 Cor. xii. 1—11.

‡ Hist. Eccl. Lib. viii. Cap. i.

by Jerom, and some of Jerom's contemporaries, you will allow, that prelatical pride and tyranny, did, so early as *his* time, exceed the insolence and tyranny of the worst princes of the Gentiles. Yet with all this Episcopal pride and arrogance, Bishops, according to Theodoret, were so *humble*, as not to suffer themselves to be distinguished by a name of office, to which they had an unquestionable title ! It would seem that the humility of the inferior clergy, in the second and third centuries, had been equally exemplary ; for, though we hear of Presbyters, Deacons, Exorcists, Lectors, Acolyths, &c. we find no such names of office as Prophets, Evangelists, Teachers, miracles, gifts of healing, helps, governments, diversities of tongues. Admirable humility ! Yet the humble spirit of the church rose gradually afterwards, till, in process of time, ecclesiastics could suffer themselves to be addressed, " Holy Father, Your Holiness, " Your Lordship, Your Grace, Your Eminence," and so forth. And thus came things to be " placed on that decent and regular footing," on which they now stand.

The officers, *set* in the church by the apostles, were elders or Bishops (for both titles are given in the New Testament, to the same officers) and Deacons. So far as we can learn from scripture, and from the Epistles of Clemens Romanus and Polycarp, the contemporaries of the apostles, these were the only orders, which the first publishers of the gospel appointed for its preservation and transmission to posterity. Deaconesses were not of a different order, but of a different sex, from Deacons. The office of an Evangelist, as the name imports, was to preach the gospel where it had never been preached before. Evangelists were next in degree to the apostles, and their function was nearly allied to theirs. None of them could have a local charge among christians, as Elders or Bishops had, without ceasing to be

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Evangelists. They generally attended the apostles in their journeys into heathen countries, and were sent by them to various places to preach the gospel, and to some, where the apostles had preached themselves, to finish the work which they had begun, "and set in order the things that were "wanting," particularly in what regarded the ordaining of ecclesiastical officers. Thus speak the New Testament and the Fathers, concerning the office of Evangelists. Their title shews that their office was extraordinary, and, so far as we can discover, their supernatural powers ceased much about the same time with those originally bestowed on the apostles. That they were *given* to the church by Jesus Christ, and were not of apostolic appointment, is expressly declared in one of the passages last referred to in the margin.* We hear of only one Evangelist, who received ordination from men; but, for aught we know, they may all have been "separated," in this manner, to their evangelical work. Timothy, the only Evangelist, of whose ordination express mention is made in scripture, was ordained, not by an apostle, who, by no figure of speech that we know of, could be called "the Presbytery;" nor by any number of the apostles, of whose formation into a presbytery we have no intimation (and much do we lament it!) but by a class or college of Presbyters in a christian church. [I]

As to the apostles, they did not *set* one another in the church; nor, when any of them died, did they appoint a successor to him. Indeed, we hear of only one of them who had a successor, I mean Judas. Our *Vindicator* informs us, for the edification of the catholic church, that the successor of Judas was elected by the eleven, "who also prescribed several rites to be observed by the members of their
spiritual

* Eph. iv.

[I] See Notes.

“spiritual society.”* Of the “rites” I know nothing, having never heard of them before I read Skinner’s Vindication. The information about the prescription of “several “rites” is only ridiculous. But Bishop Skinner’s account of the election of Judas’ successor, is an *insult* to his readers. What is written in the first chapter of the book of Acts? That the *eleven* were the electors of Matthias? No! but that Judas’ successor was elected by *all* the disciples who were present, (the number of the names together was about a hundred and twenty) the choice between Matthias and Barsabas having been, by casting of lots and by prayer, referred to Jesus Christ himself, who called all the rest of the apostles. [J]

Of the apocalyptic angels, High Church may make whatever she pleases to make. Any church, that rests the truth of a doctrine, the practical belief of which she accounts essential to salvation, on the symbolical phraseology of a book so mysterious as the Apocalypse, is much at a loss for “proofs of holy writ!” My creed respecting the clearness of the law, by which we shall be judged, is the creed of Moses, and of the apostle of the Gentiles,† and if it differ from that of Bishop Skinner and his allies, I cannot help it. “For this commandment, which I command thee this day, “it is not *hidden* from thee” (wrapt up in mystery) “neither is it far off. It is not in heaven, that thou shouldst say, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it and do it? Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldst say, Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it and do it? But the word is *very nigh* unto thee, in thy mouth, “and

* Vindic. p. 125.

[J] See Note.

† Deuteron. xxx. 11--14. Rom. x. 8.

“and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it.”—The Apocalyptic angels may, for ought I certainly know, have been moderators of their respective consistories, or *collegia presbyterorum*, or prolocutors, or parochial Bishops, or diocesan Bishops, or even Deans and Chapters;—for though our *Vindicator* denies it, nothing is more notorious, than that they are sometimes addressed in the plural number :* Nay, if any one should insist, with Mr. Dodwell, that they were Legates sent by Pope James, or his successor, from Jerusalem, and answered in number, as well as office, to the *seven spirits, that are the eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro through the whole earth*, I have no inclination to bring the matter to “mortal arbitrament” with him. But this I will take upon me to assert positively, that, till it shall be proved beyond dispute, that those angels of the churches were actually either diocesan Bishops, or Moderators of ecclesiastical courts, neither Episcopacy, nor Presbytery, nor any form of ecclesiastical polity that ever was, can derive so much as the shadow of support from the “Epistles to the Seven Churches.” Nay, admit that the angels *were* the Bishops of those churches; this would only prove that Episcopacy obtained in some churches in Asia Minor, at the time the Epistles were written; but it would not prove, that it was of apostolic institution.

To urge, with Mr. Rhind, that the Seven Epistles do not express disapprobation of the authority, which the angels of the church exercised, is to urge nothing to the purpose.—We are not told *what* authority those men exercised. And let it be remarked, that the mere silence of the Epistles with respect to the authority exercised by the *angels*, by no means demonstrates that their office was of divine appointment :

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* See Rev. ii. iii.

it might have been a human institution, and yet not disapproved by the Spirit of God: which, we hope, is true of several human institutions, both ecclesiastical and civil. The truth is, there is no subject of great interest to mankind, on which we are furnished with less instruction in scripture, than on forms of government in church and state. Here we are left to our own choice. But our *Vindicator* ventures to implicate the very justice of God in the Episcopal character of the angels of the seven churches! "If," says he, "they had not been clothed with the Episcopal character, it would be difficult to reconcile the charges given to them by St. John, in the name of Christ, with the divine equity."* This is to push the argument in favour of Episcopacy to the utmost possible degree of absurdity. If it imply *any* thing to our *Vindicator's* purpose, it must mean, that a Bishop may fairly arrogate to himself the merit of all the faith and obedience to be found among the people, be they few or many, who are under his Episcopal charge; and that he is responsible for all the infidelity, the heresy, the evil actions, both secret and open, with which the different members of his flock are chargeable; and if this be found doctrine, what reason has our *Vindicator* to rejoice, that he has been saved from the dreadful misfortune of being Bishop of London! I always thought, that we puny Bishops (for we are really Bishops) of the Church of Scotland, had "a right, in virtue of *our* apostolic commission, to check heresy, and if the heretic be obstinate, to excommunicate him; a right to reprove what is wrong, to rebuke the wicked, and expel the incorrigible; a right to ordain Presbyters and Deacons, to appoint their services, inspect their conduct, and see that every thing be done decently and for edification;" and that it is our indispensable

* Vind. p. 203.

penfable duty to exercife all thofe rights with faithfulness and diligence. But whether thofe rights really belong to us or not, we do exercife them; not fo faithfully as we ought, I confefs, for we all come fhort of our duty; but, perhaps, much about as faithfully as our brethren of High Church. Therefore a deep critic and antiquary of the *Thirty-fixth Century*, when he fhall read our *Conciones ad Clerum*, and our charges at ordinations, which have been publifhed, and are likely to be immortal, will be well warranted in contending, that in the Nineteenth Century there were between nine hundred and a thoufand diocefan Bifhops in Scotland!

Thus we have feen, that, for any thing that has yet been advanced to the contrary, the only ecclefiaftical officers that were ever conftituted by the apoftles, are Bifhops and Prefbyters, and Deacons, the latter of which orders were feparated by prayer and impofition of hands, for the fole work of managing the concerns of the poor.*

Now let me ask, on which of the eftablifhments of ecclefiaftics in the apoftolic church, that which was *fet* in it, and *given* to it by our Lord, or the eftablifhment fet up by the apoftles, does common fenfe tell us that we ought to fix as the apoftolic model? Is it not unqueftionably the latter? And is it not to be prefumed, that thofe orders of ecclefiaftics, which the apoftles appointed, in times of peril, difficulty, and diftreff, for the prefervation and tranfmiffion of the evangelical institution, are quite fufficient for the purpofe, in times of peace and fecurity? Which of us, the Presbyterian church of Scotland, which is fatisfied with parochial Bifhops and Deacons, or our Epifcopal Church, that

* Acts vi. 1—6.

that adds diocesan Bishops to the apostolic orders, is most justly chargeable with the guilt of violating *Primitive Truth and Order* ?

§ 8. There are some facts, which High Church seems to have overlooked in reading the scriptures ; and to which, I know, she will thank me for calling her attention.—The apostles were, for some time after the effusion of the Holy Ghost, the only officers in the christian church. Of the *seventy* we hear not a word, after they returned from the only mission on which they were ever sent, and gave an account of their success to their master ;* and Deacons were not ordained, nor seem they to have been thought of, till the number of the disciples became so great, that the apostles could not pay due attention to the concerns of the poor, and to the more necessary duty of preaching the word.—Hence it is manifest, that the institution of the Diaconate was a measure of expediency, suggested by the exigency of the moment, and that, if it had not been necessary, at the time of its institution, it had not been instituted. From this, it is a clear and undeniable inference, that, as the apostles acted, in the appointment of ecclesiastical officers, on principles of expediency, every christian church is fully warranted by their example, to make such alterations in its ecclesiastical constitution, as to its rulers and people shall seem expedient for promoting the ends of the christian religion. Hence also, as, in modern Episcopal churches, the business of Deacon is turned over to other officers ; it is very unlike apostolic practice to continue the order ; and it

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* Bishop Sage, long before our *Vindicator* and *Anti-jacobin* were born, proved, that the commission given to the Seventy during the life of our Lord on earth, was merely temporary, and that it was not renewed after Christ's resurrection. See *Princ. of Cypr. Age.*—Ch. VI.

is indeed, fully as ridiculous, as it would be to have an order of Levites for killing victims, where no animal sacrifices are offered.

It is admitted by all, excepting the defenders of the papal supremacy, that, among the first and most illustrious officers who ever were in the church, the most complete parity reigned. And this is no more than their Master had expressly commanded.* Nay, so far was He from setting up a hierarchy among them, that he commanded each to be the servant of all, most pathetically urging his own great example ;† and he forbade them either to assume, or to accept, titles, which imply superiority to their brethren, or a right to *dictate* to them.‡ But why do I mention *these* laws ? They fell into desuetude full sixteen centuries ago.

It is matter of dispute, whether the person, whom ecclesiastical historians call the *first Bishop* of Jerusalem, which, there is reason to think, signifies nothing more than the *first person who was ordained to a pastoral charge in that city*, (whether this person) was James the Less, an apostle, and called by Paul “the brother of our Lord ;” or a different man, perhaps one of the seventy, and surnamed the Just.

That the first person ordained to “feed the flock of “Christ” in Jerusalem, was James an apostle, is to the last degree improbable ; for it implies one of two things, either that he had renounced the apostolate, which was inconsistent with a local charge, or that he had been degraded from that high office into a local Bishop. Is either of these suppositions admissible ? I cannot think it. But be he apostle,
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* Matthew xx. 28.

† Luke xxii. 26, 27.

‡ Matthew xxiii. 7. 8.

or be he one of the seventy, or neither the one nor the other; I trust the advocates of the hierarchy do not mean to prove, that the apostles raised him above themselves, and made him their patriarch or Pope! Yet, it is remarkable, and shews to what miserable shifts they are reduced for the purpose of propping up their beloved ecclesiastical model, that they do not produce one instance of respectful deference paid to James, which was not paid by the apostles, and none else;* unless, indeed, the circumstance of all the "elders" at Jerusalem being found at the house of James, by Paul, (when he went thither, after his return to Jerusalem from preaching among the Gentiles) be a proof of the subjection of those elders to James, as their diocesan;—an evidence of subjection as fatal to the independence of Paul, as to that of the elders; for he joined them in sitting or standing at the foot of the first Episcopal throne, and, very probably, has received, on his knees, the blessing of his ecclesiastical superior!—The respect, which the other apostles paid to James, can be easily accounted for, without our supposing, that they subjected themselves to his authority. What can be more natural than to think, that the connexion of James the Less with our Lord, was sufficient to procure to him all the veneration and attachment which, the scriptures inform us, the other apostles shewed? Of the ardent love and profound reverence, which they felt for their crucified Master, who "dwelt among them, and shewed them his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth;" and who died for them, and all mankind, we can form little conception. Can we wonder that they felt the warmest attachment to every person connected with one, whom they admired, and loved, and adored? especially to a person, whose connexion was

* See Vind. p. 246, 247, 248.

so near, that Paul calls him “the Lord’s brother?” Was not this natural?* Was it not unavoidable, where there was a heart? Does it hence follow that, in direct violation of their Lord’s commands, either *they* would be disposed to make James their Pope, or that he would accept that dignity? To say that *he* dictated the decree of the Assembly at Jerusalem, by which the dispute about circumcision was terminated, merely because he was the last who spoke upon the subject, is so childishly absurd, that one is almost ashamed to take notice of it. Was James’ opinion different from that of the other speakers? Not at all. He only confirmed, by an appeal to ancient prophecy, the conclusions which his brethren had drawn from miracles, and other recent facts. Then he did not influence or over-rule their deliberation, much less did he “close it with a decisive sentence.” Did he put his own name *only* at the head of the decree, when it was sent to Antioch? The decree runs in the name of no person in particular, but in the name of all who were present at the discussion of the question that gave occasion to it, the *brethren*, as well as the apostles and elders. “The apostles, and elders, and brethren, send greeting to the brethren which are of the Gentiles at Antioch, and in Syria, and Cilicia.†” From this address it would follow, that, if James had “closed the debate” about circumcision, with “a decisive sentence,” he was the first Bishop, not merely of Jerusalem, but of Antioch, and all Syria, and Cilicia in Asia Minor. But, indeed, if he had authority to dictate to the other apostles, and to pronounce decrees which

* May we not, on the same principle, account for the veneration, which was so early paid to the memory of our Lord’s mother, and which soon ended in idolatry?

† Acts xv. 23.

which bound them and all the christians then in the world, he was, of course, the Bishop of the whole earth: a doctrine, which the Pope of Rome himself would anathematize as anti-christian. The absurdity of asserting, that the decisive sentence of James [K] put an end to the controversy, appears so complete, that *nothing* can be added to it, when we consider, that the decree itself bears, that it was dictated by the Holy Ghost, [L] which fell on all the apostles alike.

As yet, then, we have found no subordination whatever in the apostolic church, nor any reason to believe, that our Lord intended, that there should ever be any subordination among the ministers of his gospel.—“What!” exclaims an Episcopalian, “do you place Apostles and Deacons, or even “Presbyters and Deacons, on a footing in point of rank “and authority?” I do not well know, what Episcopals mean by rank and authority. But I shall explain, in a moment, what, I think, every rational and impartial enquirer must discover in scripture on the subject. I say, then, that as the apostles were not constituted by themselves, their office made no part of the *apostolic* model; and therefore, they are out of the question. I say, farther, in the spirit of the apostolic declaration, “It is not reason that we “should leave the word of God, and serve tables,”* that the office of those ecclesiastics, in the apostolic church, who were employed solely in preaching the word, was more dignified, because it was more important, than the office of those to whom the management of the concerns of the poor was committed. But it does not hence follow, that the former either claimed or exercised authority over the latter.

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[K] See Notes.

[L] See Notes.

* Acts vi. 2.

Where, in the whole New Testament, do you find, that any ordinary ecclesiastical officer was vested with dominion over other ordinary ecclesiastical officers? No where, I venture to affirm with confidence. It was too early to forget, or trample under foot, the commands of Him, “who was meek and lowly in heart,” or to set at nought his example, before the sacred canon was closed. It is, indeed, an apostolic precept, which our *Vindicator* does not suffer us to forget, “Obey them that have rule over you, and submit yourselves; for they watch for your souls, as they that must give an account.”* But the obedience and submission here enjoined, of whatever nature they may be, are exacted from the people to their pastors, not from one order of ecclesiasties to another. Nay, I can produce some passages,† in which all christians, both pastors and people, are commanded to “be subject to one another,” and to “submit themselves one to another, in the fear of God.” But I have not met with a passage, which says either explicitly, or by implication, “Presbyters and Deacons, obey them that have the rule over you, for they watch for your souls. [M] When High Church shall shew me a passage to this purpose, I shall acknowledge that her divine model, like the image of the great goddess Diana, and the Palladium of Troy, undoubtedly fell down from Jupiter.

§ 9. We have seen that apostolic practice, without an explicit divine command, and without even so much as a delineation of the form of government adopted by the apostles, is not a sufficient foundation, on which any church, however exactly it may conform to what it believes to be apostolic practice;

* Heb. xiii. 17.

† Eph. v. 21. 1 Pet. v. 5.

practice, can rest its claim to a *jus divinum*. But the advocates of the hierarchy cannot plead even apostolic *practice* in defence of their ecclesiastical polity. They cannot prove that any subordination, implying authority on the one hand, and subjection on the other, existed among christian ministers in the apostolic church; nor can they find their three orders among the offices instituted by the apostles. Hence, lest the exhibition of the three orders, consisting of our Lord himself! his apostles, and the *seventy*, should not put to silence all gainfayers, they have recourse to the following curious stratagem. They fix upon a passage,* in which Paul enumerates eight different orders of ecclesiastical officers, who were all supernaturally endowed and *set* in the church, not by the apostles, who were themselves one of the eight orders, but by Jesus Christ. Without deigning to give a reason for their rejection of five of those orders, as not making part of the *apostolic* model, they do, without any ceremony, seize upon three, and then hollow in the ears of Presbyterians, "These SEEM to be all the standing
 " orders established in the church.† Behold the divine model of the 'sacred hierarchy.' Adopt it and be saved; or "re-
 " ject it, and go to perdition, as you please!" The three orders that *must* stand, are, first apostles, secondarily prophets, and thirdly teachers. Even the *cool* Anti-jacobin, very much unlike himself, grows a little warm in defence of part of this rational and modest selection. That the apostolate was one of the standing orders established in the church, he *proves thus*; "And lo! I am with you always unto the end of the
 " world; with *You*, not as private christians, but as apostles. If this be not so, then it must be granted, that wa-
 " ter baptism itself was meant to have a temporary dura-
 " tion; for our Lord does not say, I will be with the ex-

* 1 Cor. xii. 28.

† Vindict. p. 126, 127.

“ ternal right, *however performed.*” (But he does not say the contrary, Mr. Anti-jacobin, nor is the contrary ever so much as insinuated in scripture.) “ Such being the case, “ it *must* have been the intention of the divine Head of the “ church, that the highest of the three original orders,” (there having been not one order at all till the apostles received their commission after their Lord’s resurrection, [N] as is proved by Sage, a Bishop of High Church !) “ should “ be continued always unto the end of the world.”*

Admirably reasoned! This shews some acquaintance with “ *treatises of logic,*” does it not? But what becomes of the two original orders, that were inferior to the highest? Were they considered to be in “ the loins” of the apostles, when the commission, “ Go ye, and teach all nations,” was issued? Or does the Anti-jacobin contend, that the title of Apostles, which our Lord gave to the first ministers of his gospel, implies Bishops, Priests, and Deacons? for this, I suppose, no body contends. Then the Anti-jacobin admits, that it was not the intention of the divine Head of the church; or at least, that no such intention is any where recorded in scripture, that “ the two lower orders should be “ continued always unto the end of the world.” Hence, I think, we may, without fear of “ perishing in the gainfaying of Corah,” subject ourselves to the highest order only. This will do with us. As for names, we do not fight about them. Call our ministers Apostles, or Bishops, or Presbyters, or what you will; provided we are obliged to have no more orders of clergy, than there were in the church for some time after the apostolic commission was given, and all equal in rank and authority, as the apostles were; we are well satisfied.

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[N] See Notes.

* Anti-jac. v. IX. p. 111.

But may we not infer from the Anti-jacobin's ingenious *demonstration*, quoted above, that, in *his* mind, the christian institution itself, what we call the essence of the religion, of which the degrees of ecclesiastics do not seem to be a part, is but a secondary object of the divine care and support, if it be any, farther than it is necessary for keeping up the order of Bishops, an object at all? I have been sometimes disposed to think, that "Lo, I am with you always unto the end of the world," means "I will never cease to support the religion which I have commissioned you to publish;" and that it is parallel to the promise which follows; "On this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it;" and that both promises refer rather to the stability and duration of the religion itself, than to those of the highest order of its ministers. I was the more confirmed in this opinion, by having heard, that christianity has subsisted in some places, and even flourished, independently of diocesan Bishops. But it seems I have been in a mistake. Both the passages referred to, *must* relate to the duration of Episcopacy till the heavens and the earth fly away: so that, "On this rock will I build my church" must signify, "On this rock will I build the Episcopate;" and Presbyterians and Independents "shall not prevail against it."

Is not this Reviewer a notable interpreter of the sacred pages? If those pages were really susceptible of such interpretations as he sometimes gives us in his contest with the *Lecturer on Ecclesiastical History*, the greater number of men of sense would be rather tempted to smile at their pretensions to inspiration, than persuaded to believe. Yet on the strength of his *own* interpretation of our Lord's promise to support his religion, this profound Biblical Critic breaks

forth into an apostrophe * to the Lecturer, the insolence of which can be exceeded by nothing but its incomparable absurdity. In that apostrophe, he seems to admit, that the orders of ecclesiastics are of much the same importance in the christian dispensation, that the carved work in the sanctuary was in the Jewish. He seems to admit, that the Lecturer's exclusion of Bishops from the succession to our Lord's apostles, is a crime of not much deeper guilt than the daubing of a wall with untempered mortar. Yet by way of parody on the Doctor's animated apostrophe to Mr. Dodwell, a champion of High Church, who confined the favour of God, and the benefits of Christ's incarnation, to his own party exclusively, and strove to degrade our Lord, the Redeemer of all men, into the head of an inconsiderable and desperate faction,—he vociferates,—“ Arrogant and vain man ! What are you, who so boldly presume to make your Saviour speak whatever suits your purpose ? Do you venture, a worm of the earth ! Can you think yourself warranted to exclude from the church that *order*, with which the Son of God declared that he would be always unto the end of the world ? ” and so forth. It must be confessed, that for Mr. Dodwell to place a few hundreds of the adherents of a Popish bigot, and despot in heaven, and to send all the rest of the Protestant inhabitants of Britain and Ireland to hell and the devil, is not, in the least degree, more suited to excite the indignation of every enlightened and truly christian mind, than to argue against the divine origin of Episcopacy.

But to do the Reviewer justice, he no sooner expectorates the Ciceronian effusion, of which I have quoted the most spirited passages, than he repents of it, and hints that he

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was drunk when he wrote it ; for he promises henceforth to plead the cause of his church in the words of *soberness*. I agree with Bishop Skinner, in thinking this a *suitable* apology ;* for that the gentleman was *drunk*, when he committed the offence, does not admit of a doubt.

We have examined the Monthly Censor's proof from scripture, that the Apostolate was one of the three standing offices established in the church in primitive times. That Critic gives himself no trouble about the other two. But no matter ; they are in good hands. The *Vindicator* takes them under his patronage,† and informs us, that by " prophets and teachers," the apostle to the Corinthians meant " Priests and Deacons, two orders with which the church " was always furnished from the beginning," although there were no orders at all but apostles for some time.

But if by " prophets" the apostles had meant Elders, or Priests, why did he not call them elders? Was not that name of office in use before the Epistles to the Corinthians were written? I presume it was. Were not prophets and prophetesses an order in the apostolic church distinct from that of Presbyters, and did they not foretell future events? Most undoubtedly. That Paul, then, when he meant *elders*, should say *prophets*, is as unaccountable, as if, when he meant Peter, he had said Bartholomew. Why did not our *Vindicator* present to us a passage of the New Testament, wherein Presbyters are denominated prophets, or a single person, who is known to have been nothing but an ordinary Presbyter, is called a prophet? He defines a prophet to be " a person acting under a divine commission, " and employed in God's immediate service." The definition

* *Vindic.* Note, p. 414.

† *Id.* p. 126, 127.

tion is correct enough, so far as it goes. But it answers as well to king Saul, marching at the head of his army against the Amalekites, and extirpating that devoted people, as to a Presbyter ordained by the apostles.

Equally strong objections lie against the opinion, that by *Teachers* Paul meant *Deacons*. Deacons are never called "teachers" in the New Testament; nor is teaching ever described to be any part of their ecclesiastical function. [O] If you examine the directions given to Timothy and Titus, respecting the qualifications of Deacons, you will not find that aptitude to teach is of the number. [P] I know that Deacons preached and baptized in apostolic times; and so also did private disciples: and if they had not, it is difficult to discover, for what important purpose so many private christians received the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost by the putting on of the apostles' hands. Ananias baptized Paul. The *brethren* who accompanied Peter from Joppa to Cæsarea, baptized Cornelius and his household.—The disciples who were scattered abroad by the persecution, that commenced with the martyrdom of Stephen, went every where preaching the word. [Q] The impulse of the Spirit was their warrant, and his enlightening influences their qualification, for the function: so that here, you see the spirit himself breaking, what High Church is pleased to call, one of his own inviolable laws. But although Deacons preached and baptized in apostolic times, those functions no more belonged to their office as Deacons, than they were the ordinary duties of every lay christian.

Upon the whole of this matter, I suspect our Vindicator, when he next sets out in search of his "three standing orders

[O] See Notes.

[P] See Notes.

[Q] See Notes.

“ ders established in the apostolic church,” will find it expedient to pass over the twelfth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, and look somewhere else; for in that chapter they are not to be found. There, indeed, we see the *divine* model of the church, strictly speaking; but not the *apostolical*; for the apostles had no hand in the establishment. The truth is, that he who reads the two Epistles to the Corinthians with attention, will find some reason to doubt, whether there were any ordinary and fixed pastors at all at Corinth, when the Epistles were written.

§ 10. I think it altogether unnecessary to enter farther into the controversy between our deceased Lecturer and High Church. Nothing has been said by the advocates of the latter, to induce us to conclude *a priori*, that proper Episcopacy is likely to be the form of polity, which was adopted by the apostles, by divine direction, in preference to every other form; for they have not demonstrated its unrivalled excellence. When they appeal to facts, which are recorded in scripture, and the writings of the apostolic Fathers, they not only disagree among themselves about the interpretation of those facts, but are obliged to make concessions, which subvert their whole system from the foundation. They admit that no form of ecclesiastical government is declared, in holy writ, to be essential, or even more conducive than another, to the salvation of christians; and, indeed, how could any man of reason expect to find *modes* and *forms* declared to be of high importance in a system of religion, of which the author of it himself says, that it is *Spirit and Truth*? Nay, our adversaries admit, that, so far is any particular plan of church polity from being *prescribed* in the sacred books, that the scheme adopted by the apostles is not delineated, nor even so much as “ mentioned in express and positive terms:” and the reasoning, by which
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they account for the silence of the sacred penmen on this *momentous* subject, is, as we have seen, by no means the most satisfactory that can be desired. After admitting, that the apostolic model is no where delineated in holy writ, they strenuously, though not very consistently, contend, that it is clearly exhibited there. Admit, what I think I have disproved, that their favourite model is precisely what the apostles set up. This would evince, that that model was *expedient* in apostolic times, and that it is *lawful* at all times; but it would not prove, that the adoption of it, in all possible situations of the christian church, is essential to salvation. It is the *law* of Christ that is our rule, and not the *practice* of his apostles, unless where we are expressly commanded to tread in their steps, which, in what regards ecclesiastical government, is no where enjoined in holy writ. But it happens, unfortunately for the honour of High Church, that her modern *Vindicator* not only fails in attempting to prove, that we are bound, under the most tremendous pains and penalties, to adopt the apostolic model, but that he has not perspicuity enough to discover, where, in the whole New Testament, that model is exhibited to us! That zealous advocate of "the *sacred* hierarchy" has failed in another undertaking of no inconsiderable importance. He has not proved, that there was any subordination among the ecclesiastical officers of the apostolic church; no order of its ministers, so far as we can discover from holy writ, having been commanded to be in subjection to another. He takes it for granted, that first "apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, workers of miracles, &c." must be understood to mean, that "prophets, teachers, workers of miracles," and so forth, were subjected to the apostles, and obeyed them. What if I were to contend, that "first, secondarily, thirdly, after that," relate to *time*, and not to dignity or authority of office? Is the

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the Vindicator prepared to contest this point with me? Can he deny, that it is true of the apostles, that they were the first sacred officers, whom God set in the church? Besides, does not Paul tell us,* “Now there are diversities of gifts, “but the *same spirit?*” Does the *Vindicator* contend, that the Spirit which endowed prophets, teachers, “workers of “miracles,” &c. with their respective gifts, was subject to the Spirit who inspired the apostles; that is, that the Holy Ghost was subject to himself? He who comprehends what the apostle is recommending in the chapter so often referred to, and attends to the principles on which he reasons, will be convinced, that, though the different gifts of the various ecclesiastical officers, whom he enumerates, were given by the same Spirit, and for the promotion of one great end, the advancement of the kingdom of Christ; yet in the exercise of those gifts, the several officers on whom they were conferred, were entirely independent of one another; and that it was the apostle’s object to dissuade them from envying and encroaching upon the provinces of each other.

I account it of very little consequence in our controversy with High Church, whether the *Lecturer’s* scheme of Parochial Episcopacy, as the intermediate form between Presbyterian Parity, and Diocesan Episcopacy, be well or ill founded. For my part, I think, he has clearly demonstrated its existence in the christian church at an early period; whether with the help of Lord King or not, is a matter of no moment. [R] Nothing appears to me more unaccountable, than that the advocates of the hierarchy, some of whom speak, as if *they only* read and understand the writings of Ignatius and Cyprian, should deny that those two
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* 1 Cor. xii. 1.

[R] See Notes.

ecclesiastics, in particular, were parochial Bishops. Do *they* ever mention an arrangement, which is essential to diocesan Episcopacy, the division of their respective charges into fixed Presbyteral cures? Do they call their charges dioceses? Do they ever write, as if the Presbyters and Deacons of their times, lived apart from their Bishops, and were not constantly with them, to assist with their counsels, and perform whatever parochial duties their Bishops sent them upon? Does not Cyprian assert,* that he celebrated the eucharist, *all the brethren*, that is, his whole flock, *being present*; that it is lawful for the Bishop only to baptize,† which would have created insupportable labour, even in a diocese of no more than *eight* parishes or congregations, scattered as they were, in those days, over a vast tract of country, unless, indeed, infants and catechumens were baptized by hundreds, in one place, at certain fixed times of the year;—that (suitable to the advice of Ignatius to Polycarp,‡ to make himself acquainted with the *names* of all his flock, not excepting the slaves, male and female) he knew every one of his people personally;|| and that, according to another admonition of the Bishop of Antioch, in the same Epistle, and same chapter, he was the common curator and guardian of *all* the widows, and *all* the indigent under his pastoral care,§ suffering *nothing*, as Ignatius recommended to Polycarp, to be done without his knowledge and consent?—If Cyprian's charge comprehended eight parishes, as our opponents contend; and if he was not the pastor of one single flock only, which, when the disciples multiplied, may have been divided, after 'the empire became christian, into eight *Presbyteral Cures*; we may venture to affirm, that scarcely one of the assertions, above referred to, either

* Ep. 63. Cap. 12.

† Ep. 73. Cap. 6.

‡ Ep. ad Polyc. Cap. 4.

|| Ep. 58. Cap. 1.

§ Ibid.

either is, or can be, true; for this obvious reason, that the facts asserted are physically impossible. And what does High Church make of Cyprian's declaration, that he celebrated the eucharist with all under his Episcopal charge about him? Is this reconcileable with the existence, in his time, of what we now call diocesan Episcopacy? Cyprian's *unity* of the Episcopate, whatever it may mean (and, to tell the truth, I do not understand him on the subject) is here out of the question. He does not say that the eucharist was celebrated in all parishes in his diocese, at their respective altars, which as there was but *one* Bishop, were to be considered as one altar. What he affirms, is, that he, the Bishop of Carthage in the third century, celebrated the eucharist, *all the brethren being present*.

This assertion of Cyprian, which can admit but of one interpretation, explains the fact, which is mentioned by early christian writers, that as, in primitive times, there was but *one Bishop* to a pastoral charge, so there was but *one altar* or communion table; ** and that the setting up of another altar (*aliud altare*) was considered to be the grand criterion of schism. I say, Cyprian's assertion, quoted above, explains this fact, and fixes its meaning, in spite of all the "*contemptible quibbling*" of High Church, which deprives it of *all* meaning. What can be more arrant *quibbling*, than to tell me, that, in the *first* member of the famous sentence, ἐν ἑνωσιασθηρίον, ὡς εἰς ἐπισκοπῶν (one altar, as one Bishop) a mystical unity is indicated, and a numerical unity in the last? Admit this mode of interpretation, and you may make the language of antiquity the vehicles of whatever sentiments or facts a controvertist *wishes* it to convey; and, if such arbitrary interpretations are to be permitted, no controversy, for the decision of which we appeal

** See Notes.

peal to scripture, or the writings of the christian Fathers, can ever be terminated on earth. What if there were, as our Vindicator suggests there is,* a twofold unity; the one mystical, [and the other numerical, denoted in our Lord's petition for his select disciples, "that they may be "one, even as we are one?" Does it hence follow, that there is a twofold unity denoted in "one altar, as one "Bishop?" Is it possible to bring forward two sentences, for mutual illustration, that are, in every view, more completely unconnected, than the two just now quoted? But I deny that a twofold unity is denoted in the petition of our Lord. Can he be understood to have prayed to his heavenly Father, "May these, whom thou hast given me out of "the world, be *one in mind and heart*, even as thou, Father, "and I, are *one in substance, power, and eternity*?" I cannot think it.

But if any thing more were needed to ascertain the meaning of ἐν συνικτησειον, ὡς εἰς επισκοπον, than merely Cyprian's *practice* appealed to above, we have only to recur to the passage in the Ignatian Epistles, where the sentence occurs, which is in the Epistle to the Philadelphians.

The Epistle to the Philadelphians begins with an encomium on the exemplary taciturnity of their Bishop; and, indeed, the author seems to have admired that quality in a Bishop, above all other Episcopal qualifications whatever; for he observes, in his Epistle to the Ephesians,† that a Bishop is to be revered in *proportion* to his silence; from which it would seem to follow, that if a Bishop had been deaf
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* Vind. p. 257, 258.

† Cap. 6.— What! a dumb preacher the subject of panegyric! Who can believe that Ignatius of Antioch ever wrote such nonsense?

and dumb, it would have been the duty of his flock to worship him, a kind of reverence which *the deaf and dumb* had received long before. After an eulogy on the taciturnity of their Bishop, of whom he observes, in a favourite phrase of his, that he was fitted to the commands, as a harp to its strings, the martyr of Antioch proceeds to exhort the Philadelphians, as if they had been a society of Quakers, to flee divisions, and to stick to their Bishop, no doubt that they might be trained for heaven by his edifying silence. "Where your shepherd is, there follow ye as sheep."*— This condemns the flock to silence as profound as that of their pastor; for sheep are not *ματαια λαλῶντες*, or vain-talkers, no more than the Bishop of Philadelphia. Then, after a few remarks on the blessings of *unity*, and the mischiefs of schism, and some suitable exhortations, Ignatius admonishes them thus: "Take heed, therefore, that ye partake of *one* eucharist. For there is *one* flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and *one* cup in the unity of his blood, *one* altar as *one* Bishop, together with his Presbyters and deacons, my *one* fellow-servants."† If all these *ones*, of which there is a comfortable number, be not numerical unities, the cogency of Ignatius' argument in recommendation of Unity, or concord, especially in adhering to the Bishop, exceeds my comprehension. The whole force of it absolutely depends on *all* the *ones* being understood to be numerical unities.— Suppose them to be partly numerical, and partly mystical, and you convert an argument, which, at best, is not the most powerful that could be urged, into downright nonsense; and you tempt Mr Anti-jacobin to send Ignatius to school, along with Dr. Campbell, to learn a little logic.

Considering the treatment that the Lecturer's scheme of

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* Ep. ad. Philad. cap. 2.

† Ead. cap. 4.

Parochial Episcopacy has met with from all the modern defenders of the principles of High Church, it is a strikingly curious fact, that some Episcopalians, highly respectable for their talents and learning, and others, who have distinguished themselves by nothing but their violent attachment to Episcopacy, join explicitly with the Lecturer on the subject. He himself appeals to the writings of Burn, who was an English divine, and a celebrated Jurist and antiquary. The author of *Letters on the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, informs us, that so late as the time of Columbanus, a Scottish missionary, who was sent to take the charge of the Northumbrians, "there were no Presbyteral Cures; all under a Bishop's charge were his parish, and belonged to his church; and the inferior clergy went out from him, and by his orders, to preach, baptize, visit the sick, and take care of the people's souls, and returned again at his call."* This testimony, which is, indeed, little else but a translation of Bede's account of primitive British Episcopacy, (this testimony) in favour of parochial, as the predecessor of diocesan Episcopacy, is fully more than could have been expected from the quarter whence it comes. But I have something still more curious to mention. The *Vindicator of Primitive Truth and Order* concurs with the writer last quoted, of whom he was both the *father* and the *son*, in stamping his sanction on the Lecturer's scheme, while at the same time he strives to demolish it with such implements of destruction as he could borrow.

The Lecturer compares the Parochial Episcopacy of early times, to "the case of some highland parishes in the northern part of this island, wherein, by reason of their territorial extent, the pastor is under the necessity of having
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* Skinner's Eccles. Hist. Vol. I, p. 150.

“ ordained itinerant assistants, whom he can send, as occasion requires, to supply his place in the remote parts of his charge.”*

If this be Diocesan Episcopacy, no body will deny that that form of ecclesiastical government is of very high antiquity; and for us, we rejoice that, where it is necessary, from the territorial extent of a parish, we have conscientiously adopted it, although we do not think ourselves obliged in conscience to adopt it where it is *not* necessary,—and where it might rather be burdensome than advantageous; on which, I presume, we have the sanction of the practice of the ancients, who, perhaps, had some small portion of common prudence as well as we.

Now it is *this* form of Episcopacy that our *Vindicator* of the divine origin of Diocesan Episcopacy, pronounces to be primitive! Of the Lecturer’s comparison he says, “ The fitness of this analogy we shall *in part* admit, as it corresponds pretty nearly with the ideas, which *we have been taught*” (by our *Reverendissimus Pater*, I suppose) “ to form of primitive Episcopacy; conceiving it to be *almost* in the Doctor’s own words, ‘ One ordained pastor having power to *send* [S] out ordained assistants to supply his place, as occasion requires.’” Indeed? Then primitive Episcopacy is no where, so far as I know, to be found in this island, but in the highlands of Scotland; and the Senior Bishop of the Scotch Episcopal church has published a book of five hundred and forty-five pages, exclusive of the title-page, dedication, contents, and a page of *errata*, to prove that proper or Diocesan Episcopacy, is *primitive order*,

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* Vol. I. p. 150.

[S] See Notes.

though he solemnly acknowledges at his two hundred and sixty-third page, which is not far from the centre of the book, that *Parochial Episcopacy only* is primitive order! An important concession! I suppose it is to early paternal instruction that we owe it: “*We have been taught.*” This, it must be acknowledged, is *some* sign of grace. And when we meet with a personage raised to the very highest station in the church militant, and yet shewing that he has not forgotten the wholesome lessons which he learned in his youth; how highly must we admire the wisdom of the man, to whom we owe the salutary admonition, “Train up a child in the way that he should go, and when he is *old* he will not depart from it.” After all, one cannot help being surprized, that our *well educated* Vindicator has covered so many pages with the misrepresentations, invectives, and chicane of the *Guide to the Church*, and the *Monthly Censor*, all directed to the overthrow of a scheme, which he himself embraces, *having been taught* to do so. This can be accounted for only on the supposition, that he has also been *taught* the art of book-making, after the *newest and most approved method*; which art consists in borrowing, till you have enough, without a very scrupulous regard to propriety of selection.

§ 11. The *invectives* of the Vindicator’s auxiliaries may, probably, be adverted to, occasionally, hereafter. I beg leave to conclude my strictures on the present state of the controversy between Us and High Church, with a specimen or two of the *misrepresentation* and *chicane*, which those Gentlemen employ, and the Vindicator retails, in endeavouring to subvert the *Lecturer’s* scheme of Parochial Episcopacy.

The *Lecturer*, trusting to the veracity of Justin Martyr,
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and other writers of high antiquity, urges, that, in their time, all the christians under a Bishop's inspection, met on the Lord's day in one place, *επι το αυτο*, as Justin and Ignatius express it. In order to elude the force of the argument hence arising in favour of Parochial, as the predecessor of Diocesfan Episcopacy, the *Lecturer* is accused by Mr. Daubeny * of having not only copied from King, but of having, in imitation of King's *prudence*, mutilated the extract from Justin Martyr, by suppressing these words, "All throughout cities and countries," of whom Justin says, they met *επι το αυτο*.—Who can believe that Mr. Daubeny ever read Lord King's Inquiry, which he accuses the *Lecturer* of following with all the exactness of a servile plagiarist? Does King, verily and indeed, suppress the expression, which Mr. Daubeny translates "All throughout cities and countries?" Not at all. He does not quote it, where it is not required by his argument; † but where he found it necessary to prove the fact, which he presents to his reader's attention, there you have it in Greek on the margin, and in English in the text. ‡ Scarcely any thing can be conceived more ludicrous, than our Vindicator's copying, most faithfully, Mr. Daubeny's strange charge against King; then gravely laying King's controversial crime to the *Lecturer's* charge; and finally acknowledging in a note, || that King was not guilty! [T] Had not the *Lecturer* good reason to stand in awe of such castigators as Mr. Daubeny and Bishop Skinner; and that he might escape the tremendous effects of their wrath, which is armed with such prodigious stores of accurate and well digested learning, to leave the publication of his Lectures to his executors? He acted in this affair with his usual prudence.

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* Prelim. Disc. p. 90.

† P. 17.

‡ P. 42.

|| Vind. p. 254.

[T] See Notes.

But who taught the Archdeacon of Salisbury and the Primate of Scotland, that *κατα πολεις η αγρες* signifies “throughout cities and countries?” Much labour must have been lost upon them, if they do not both know, that *αγρες* signifies, not *countries*, as they render it, but the country (*agros* or *rus*) in contradistinction to the town: so that the literal English of *κατα πολεις η αγρες* is, “in city or country.” One does not know what to make of Mr. Daubeny’s and Bishop Skinner’s mis-translation of this expression; I mean, one does not know to what to impute it. Shall we ascribe it to ignorance? However *they* may feel on such an imputation, I would certainly, in my own case, feel much more easy under *it*, than under the imputation of *design*. But *design* cannot be suspected in the case before us, unless they supposed that our Lecturer left no knowledge of the Greek language behind him in this world, but what is possessed by Mr. Daubeny and Bishop Skinner.

Our Vindicator is very anxious to shew, that ancient writers, when they inform us that it was the practice of all the christians under a Bishop’s inspection to meet on Sunday *επι το αυτο*, [U] meant to say, that they met, not in one place, but for one purpose; and the Literary Cenfor asks Dr. Campbell’s admirers, how the myriads of converted Jews, who were under the pastoral care of James and the Elders, and could not be below ten thousand, could meet, for the purposes of public worship, in the house of even the wealthiest disciple in Jerusalem?* I ask this Critic, in my turn, When did Dr. Campbell acknowledge, and who has proved that James was, “during term of life,” the sole Bishop of Jerusalem? I ask, also, why the scriptures never mention James as the sole Bishop of Jerusalem,
if

[U] See Note.

*. Anti-jac. v. ix. p. 237.

if it be really true, that the apostles raised either James, the Lord's brother, or James, a private disciple, to the superintendence of the whole church at Jerusalem? Was this a fact, that, in the opinion of High Churchmen, who think it of such consequence to ascertain the apostolic model, (was it a fact) that was not worth recording? The presumption is, that there was no such fact to be recorded. It is a tradition, that a certain man named James, was the first Bishop of Jerusalem; but whether the foundation of this tradition be truth or falsehood, we cannot tell. But admitting that a man of the name of James was the first who was ordained to a pastoral charge in Jerusalem; does it hence follow, that he never had colleagues? Nay, admitting that he became, in time, *primus inter pares*, this, I apprehend, will not prove that he had no *equals*! What were all the *Elders* of Jerusalem, who are so often mentioned in the book of Acts? Did not the Lecturer know, and does not High Church acknowledge, that in the age of the apostles, *Elders* were called *Bishops*, and *Bishops*, nay *Apostles*, were called *Elders*? For aught we know, there were an hundred apostolic Bishops in Jerusalem, during the time of James, although he may have been the first whom the apostles ordained there. Why do the advocates of the hierarchy talk away, as if they had done what they have never performed, and never can perform? As if they had *proved* that till James the Just was murdered by the Jews, there was no other Bishop in the holy city? Such a bold and confident assertion of facts, of which they know little or nothing, may be suited to keep the *mobile* of their little party in this country firm to their Bishops and Priests, because their people are taught, as it would seem, to receive whatever comes from their clergy, as the oracles of God. But in men of sense, who think for themselves, it can excite only contempt and disgust.

But the *Political and Literary Cenfor of Great Britain* has something yet in store, which is still more fatal to our Lecturer's scheme of Parochial Episcopacy, than even his myriads at Jerufalem, all meeting in one house to hear their Bishop: and when he has fired off this decisive volley, he cries out "Victory!"

The Lecturer remarks, that "it is not so much by the measure of the ground, as by the number of the people, that the extent of a pastoral charge is to be reckoned."—He adds that, if we measure a Bishop's charge in the church of the first three centuries, by the number of the people, and not by the extent of the ground, we will find that, in general, it did not exceed a modern parish, if it did not fall short of it. He observes that, for more than a century, the best accommodation for public worship, that christians had, was the private houses of the wealthiest disciples, which could not receive very numerous congregations. But he contends that, in most cases, this accommodation was sufficient, because *then*, it was but a small part of the people of a city or village, with its environs, which composed the church; so that the extent of territory, which was necessary to supply a pastor with one sufficient congregation, must have been very great. To illustrate this, and merely, as he says, by *way of illustration*, he *supposes*, that, at the time the churches were first planted by the apostles, the christians, at a medium, were one thirtieth part of the people, though in such populous cities as Rome and Alexandria, not, probably, one hundredth part. Unfortunately for his scheme of Parochial Episcopacy, he *supposes* farther, not only that the Christians over all Asia Minor might be about the thirtieth part of the inhabitants, but that that country might be equal, *then*, in point of populousness, to what Great Britain is at present. The conclusion that he draws from all these

these hypothetical positions, and which, itself, must of course be understood to be hypothetical, (the conclusion) is, that one of the Bishoprics in Asia Minor, in order to afford a congregation equal to that of a middling parish, ought to have been equal in extent to thirty parishes in this island. "Yet," adds he, (laying aside suppositions, and coming to facts) "*take them at an average, and they will be found to have been scarcely equal to one third of that number,*" that is, to TEN parishes in Great Britain. And he instances in one bishopric in Asia Minor, that of Neocesarea, which, even in the middle of the third century, contained no more than *seventeen* christians.*

Upon this the Anti-jacobin takes up the pen of the arithmetician. But lest his ensuing triumph should be *too* humiliating to the *Lecturer's* admirers, "the true Campbellians," as he is pleased to call them,† he generously throws away some millions of the present population of Great Britain, and states it so low as seven; in imitation, I suppose, of those mighty professors of the pugilistic art, who sometimes undertake to box an antagonist, whom they despise, with one of their hands tied up. Those seven millions he divides by 30, in order to ascertain the number of christians in Asia Minor, and the quotient is precisely 233,333 christians, and one-third of a christian. But, as he has thrown *some millions* out of his estimate, he does not stand higgling with us about the fraction. He next proceeds to divide his quotient, when disencumbered of the fraction just mentioned, by 7, the number of angels spoken of in the book of Revelation as having some office or other, the Anti-jacobin calls it the Episcopate, in the seven churches of Asia,
named

* Lect. on Eccl. Hist. v. I. p. 215, 216.

† In revenge, I ween.

named in that book. The result of the operation is 33,333 souls to each Episcopal charge, to say nothing of two-sevenths of a soul at the end. All this our learned Cenfor demonstrates by figures; and then—how he crows! “If it be impossible that such a multitude as this, (to wit, 33,333) “could assemble under one roof to hear the scriptures read, to receive spiritual exhortation, and to participate together at the Lord’s supper, our author’s scheme of congregational Episcopacy falls to the ground at once.”* The Vindicator also claps his wings, and partakes in the triumph.†

Ah! Mr. Anti-jacobin, how clever you are! I wish most sincerely, that you were as honest! I acknowledge, that it would have been injurious to your argument to have taken the Lecturer’s *facts* into your calculation. His *suppositions*, which are corrected by his facts, do, it must be confessed, answer your purpose better. But, you know, common honesty requires that we do justice to the *reasoning* of an adversary, as well as that we give him his due, where *meum* and *tuum* are concerned.‡ Why did you not divide your last quotient by 3? Does not the Lecturer assert that, in point of fact, the bishoprics of Asia Minor, taken at an average, were scarcely equal in extent to one-third of thirty parishes in this island? and does he not mention one of those bishoprics, which, about the middle of the third century, contained only *seventeen* christians? If you had done the Lecturer common justice, each bishopric, even according to *your* mode of calculation, would have been

* Anti-jac. v. IX. p. 238.

† Vind. Note p. 253.

‡ If you had got your hands on the Lecturer’s MS. and published the Lecture as your own, I would have pardoned it as readily, as your wilfully mis-stating his arguments.

been found to contain no more than 11,111 disciples.— This is a reduction of only 22,222 on each Episcopal charge!—But you will probably triumph still, and ask, “Could even 11,111 meet *ἐπι το αὐτο*, in the Lecturer’s acceptance of that expression, for the purposes of public worship and religious instruction?” To confess the truth, the congregation would have been somewhat too numerous for a private house, or even for a cathedral.

But is it an indisputable fact, that, “at the time the churches were first planted by the apostles,” there were no independent churches, each governed by its own Bishop, in all Asia Minor, but the seven named in the Apocalypse? Where did the Anti-jacobin learn this fact? It was not from the New Testament, nor from the Ignatian Epistles. Perhaps it has been from some ecclesiastical records of high antiquity, to which none but the clergy of High Church have access; or rather, which none but they can understand. [V] Did Paul, and those whom he employed in preaching the gospel in Asia Minor, labour at least three years [W] in that country, and yet reap a harvest so scanty, as the seven apocalyptic churches only? Those seven churches were all situated in Ionia, Lydia, Mysia, and Phrygia Major. But there are at least other sixteen countries in Asia Minor, to-wit, Troas, Æolia, Galatia, Caria, Phrygia Minor, Bithynia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Paphlagonia, Pontus, Armenia Minor, Lycaonia, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Pisidia, Isauria, not to mention the islands of the *Mare Ægeum*. Is it a point fully ascertained, that Paul and his fellow-labourers made no converts, and planted no churches in the last named extensive and populous countries of Asia Minor? In that region of the earth there were from a hundred

[V] See Notes.

[W] See Notes.

hundred and thirty to a hundred and forty cities and villages, exclusive of those of the dependent islands, all so considerable, that they are named in classical history or poetry. Paul resided in the country for some years, preaching the gospel, and planting churches; and, from time to time, sending out missionaries, who planted churches, which he never had an opportunity of visiting.* Peter, we have some reason to infer, from his addressing of his first Epistle to the Jewish converts in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia,† and Bithynia, had published the *good news* there, and founded churches. John, there is no question, resided a considerable time, and preached, in Asia Minor, which makes it *probable* at least, that *he* also founded churches there. [X] And yet, according to the Anti-jacobin, in all that country, which contained so many large cities and considerable villages, there were no churches in the apostolic age, but the seven apocalyptic churches, and no Bishops but the seven angels! Is it not somewhat unaccountable, that while there were three Episcopal Sees in Lydia, there was only one in all Mysia, one in Phrygia Major, and no more than two in the maritime, and therefore very populous country of Ionia, where both the apostles Paul and John resided so long?

But can we really believe, that the Anti-jacobin never heard of christians, (in the age of the apostles) in Antioch of Pisidia, Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, Miletus, Colosse, Perga, Tarsus, Attalia, Hierapolis? nor of “the churches of Galatia?” nor of the Jewish converts, whom Peter calls
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* See Coloss. ii. 1.

† Is this the city of Lydia, which Stephen Byzant. mentions as Πολις Λυδίας παρὰ τῷ Τρωαίῳ?

[X] See Notes.

“the strangers,” in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia? These are all mentioned in the New Testament, and, therefore, we must, in pure civility, presume, that a learned divine, of so learned a church as that which the Anti-jacobin Reviewer of *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History* belongs to and adorns, has read of them even in Greek, and is geographer enough to know, that they were all, in time past, in Asia Minor. I should likewise presume, that he had read of Tralles and Magnesia, two towns of Lydia, where were two christian churches in apostolic times, each having its own Bishop, with a proper establishment of Presbyters and Deacons, all of whom Ignatius remembers kindly in his Epistles to the Trallians and Magnesians.

If, in the arithmetical calculation, which the Primate of Scotland admires so ardently, the author had taken the facts and considerations, now urged, into the account, and assumed such division, as a writer, who has any the least regard to truth, or even the semblance of it, would not have failed to assume, his tremendous congregations of 33,333 each, had been brought into some reasonable compass.— We have good reason to believe, that in Asia Minor, there were, in the first century, several hundreds of those Bishops, whom the Holy Ghost was wont to make, when He took concern in Episcopal ordinations. The Anti-jacobin himself would not dare to *assert directly*, that at the time the churches were planted by the apostles, there were none in Asia Minor, which were not under the Episcopal government of the seven angels (supposing them to have been Bishops) all whose Episcopal residences, save one, were situated, I may say, in a corner of that extensive and populous country, and near the coast. Yet, although he has not directly asserted this, the reasoning by which, as he pretends, he has demolished the Lecturer’s scheme of Parochial Episcopacy,

copy, rests upon it as its sole foundation; of which, it is impossible to believe that he was not fully aware.

I can make allowance for keenness in argument. I can even admire the controvertist, who, persuaded in his own mind, that he is defending the cause of truth, not only writes with warmth, but makes the most of every thing that can be fairly urged: and I can pardon his discovering great force in arguments, which his antagonist regards as trifling and inconclusive. But downright and bare-faced dishonesty, even in controversy, especially in theological controversy, no man of any integrity can away with, particularly when it is over-bearing, and triumphs insolently in the pretended success of its own chicanery.

It gives one pain to see the *Head* of a christian church, in defending its constitution and its orders, laying his hands about him, on all sides, for arguments, and availing himself of such contemptible trash, as that which we have been last examining. It puts one in mind of a humiliating spectacle, which I have sometimes beheld in large and populous towns. I allude to those miserable victims of penury, who are compelled by want at home, to rake into dunghills in the streets and lanes, for all the offal and garbage, which have been thrown out by their richer neighbours.

PRESBYTERIAN LETTERS,

ADDRESSED TO

BISHOP SKINNER, &c.

PART I.

“TANTÆNE ANIMIS CÆLESTIBUS IRÆ?”

VIRGIL.

LETTER I.



SIR,

IN the following Epistles, it is my purpose, First, to examine the picture, which you have exhibited to the world, in a late publication, of your Presbyterian countrymen in general, and of the deceased Lecturer on Ecclesiastical History in particular; and, Secondly, to enquire into the validity, *on your own principles*, of the boasted *orders* of your church.

You may be assured that, with whatever freedom I address you, I “set not down aught in malice.” It is my earnest wish, that all christians, of every denomination, in this land, may be brought to dwell together in *unity*, by which I mean *peace* and *love*. For my part, I do not cherish the least hatred, or even suspicion, of any man, merely because he belongs to one church, and I to another; nor do I think any person a just object of reprehension and satire, merely because he cannot, on some subjects, be entirely of my opinion. I know nothing to which the rule of the Poet can be more properly applied, than to diversity of opinions in regard to *forms* and ceremonies in religion,

“Scimus, et hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim.”

In order to convince you of my catholic spirit, I begin our correspondence with making my acknowledgments for
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some valuable articles of information, which I have found in your *Vindication of Primitive Truth and Order*, more especially in the first chapter; which is full of curious matter.

I have already, on some occasion or other, made my bow for the discovery, that mankind owe their redemption, not to the labours and sufferings of the Son of God, but to his establishment of a society of a certain form or model, commonly called the *church*, which, as we shall see afterwards, you define with clearness and accuracy; and which the deceased *Lecturer*, as you remark, “most unworthily compares to a knot of artists or philosophers,” meaning, it is probable, peruke-makers, and free-thinkers.

If I understand the principal object of your *First Chapter* (which I shall not positively say that I do, since some profound Critics confess, that you sometimes are beyond even their depth) it is to prove, that the Patriarchal, Jewish, and Christian, religions differ very little from one another, unless in point of form; each of them instructing mankind in whatever it concerns them to know, that they may attain salvation, as fully as the other two; from which some “perverse disputers of this world,” would, probably, infer, that only one of them was necessary. In prosecuting this grand object, amidst a vast variety of curious information, all of which I cannot here detail, you inform us,* that the first man and woman were as well instructed christians as the bench of Bishops in England; the first prophecy of a Redeemer, “as it came from God,” having, undoubtedly, been explained to them with the utmost clearness, and at great length; though Moses’ narrative of that transaction

is

* P. 32.

is very enigmatical and concise; in other words, that God poured the full blaze of the light of revelation on the minds of his creatures all at once, and long before they were prepared to receive it.

You also teach us,* that the covenant recorded in Genesis † as having been entered into with Noah after the deluge, and with his seed after him, and with every living thing, fowl, cattle, and every beast of the earth, (fish are not mentioned, not being so liable to perish by drowning as land animals are) of which the only promise is, that all flesh shall never be again destroyed by water, (that this covenant) “was the same everlasting covenant, through the “*blood* of which life was to be restored to man, and which “had been of *long standing before the flood*, and was only renewed and ratified after it;” that is, the Creator of the world, (if we are to be satisfied with *your* exposition of his word and work) assured his creatures, long before the deluge, that there should never be *another* deluge; and then, in Noah’s time, drowned *them* all, except a few, by the only deluge that ever was or will be. This curious fact, so honourable to the divine mercy and faithfulness, you seem to have collected, chiefly from a careful comparison of the rainbow in our clouds, with the rainbow which John saw “round about the throne in heaven, in sight like unto “an emerald.” ‡—You farther inform us, § that the Jews, among whom our Lord appeared in the flesh, were less enlightened on the subject of our redemption by Jesus Christ, than Abraham, the founder of the nation, “from whose “faith they had departed;” having, probably, been blind-

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* P. 40, 41.

† Ch. ix. 9—17.

‡ Rev. iv. 3.

§ Vind. p. 44.

ed, and led astray from Abraham's faith, by the law, their schoolmaster, and by the increasing clearness of the prophecies, as the time of our Lord's coming drew nearer, and, it may be, by the institution of synagogues, where Moses and the prophets were read and expounded every sabbath day. Connected with this article of your belief, is that which follows, I mean that, "though christianity is called "the new covenant or testament, yet it differs in nothing "from the old covenant or testament, except in so far as relates to the way and manner in which the scheme of man's "redemption was exhibited to the world," and that the *new* is "only the interpreter of the old."* If your doctrine harmonize with that of Paul,† who says of the new covenant, that it is *better* than the old, and established on *better promises*, then it will follow, that, in apostolic language, *better* and *worse* signify the same thing: a discovery in criticism which throws quite a new light on many passages of scripture.

I am enlightened by your first chapter, on still another subject of great importance. You write ‡ as if you were firmly persuaded, that the nature of Christ's kingdom, and immortal life, were as clearly revealed by Moses and the prophets, as by our Lord and his apostles, Jesus Christ himself referring the Jews and his disciples to no more clear and convincing evidence of a future state, than what the Old Testament affords; and Paul never having urged any thing on the nature of christianity, and the prospects it holds up to man, but what he collected from Moses and the prophets. This, I confess, is quite new to me. As I have been accustomed to believe, that the prophecies were

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* Vind. p. 64, 66, 87.

† Heb. viii. 6.

‡ Vind. p. 62, 63, 64, 65.

not intended to make all men prophets, but only to create a general expectation of certain events, of which a distinct and particular view is given in very few instances, this being reserved for the period at which they come to pass; so I have been used to think, that the law taught that Christ was to suffer and rise again, and conveyed the tidings of immortality, only by figures and emblems, whose real meaning was comprehended by them alone, a small number in every age! "with whom is the secret of the Lord," the truly pious and reflecting. I have also been induced to think, that Paul, in preaching Christ, and the doctrine of immortality, announced, not merely what he drew from the law and the prophets, but what he received by immediate revelation from his master; and that he considered Christ's resurrection from the dead to be a more convincing proof of life and immortality, or at least a proof more easily comprehended and more striking, than any that can be extracted from the writings of Moses and the prophets; and that "hence it is an obvious and necessary inference," that there is some difference between the preaching of Moses and the prophets, and that of an apostle of Christ, besides the difference that you point out; I mean, that "the former points to the promised Saviour as yet to come, the latter exhibits him as already come." Thus I was wont to think in the days of my ignorance; but I am enlightened. "I was once blind; but now I see."

We are not yet at the end of your discoveries, or at least, of your illustrations of discoveries already adverted to. You inform us,* that "the law bore the same resemblance to the gospel, that the infant bears to the man; the body in both being formed after the same model (consequently

* Vind, p. 119, 120.

frequently *your ecclesiastical model should be Jewish, otherwise it is monstrous!*) “and having a similarity of features “and lineaments, such as is observed in the progressive advancement of our own bodies from infancy to manhood;” that the *infant* was his own schoolmaster,* and, under his own tuition, became, in process of time, a well instructed sensible man;—and that this wonderful child was, in his infancy, the shadow of what he became, when he arrived at manhood;† to which we may add, on the authority of a safer *Guide to the Church* than Mr. Daubeny, that when he did arrive at manhood, his infancy “decayed, and waxed “old, and was ready to vanish away.”‡ We farther learn, that though the apostle, just now quoted, joins cordially with the spirit of prophecy in declaring, that Christ is a High Priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedeck (which you admit,|| is to be the rule and model of the Christian Priesthood for ever) and proves,§ that this order was essentially different, in every respect, from the Aaronic; yet the Aaronic must be the rule and model of the Christian Priesthood after all, because, since the law was, in all things, a type or shadow of the gospel, the substance must correspond to the shadow in every iota and tittle, not excepting the names and rank of the servants employed in the typical dispensation;¶ whence it follows, that the law was typical of Christ’s ministers, as well as of himself and the means by which he effected our salvation,—a doctrine on which the New Testament observes the most profound silence.

In your first chapter, we meet with the following doctrine, announced, I acknowledge, in terms sufficiently strong and lively: I mean that, although some naturalists are

* Vind. p. 55. † Id. p. 120. ‡ Heb. viii. 13. || Vind. p. 93.

§ Heb vii. ¶ Vind. p. 93, 94.

are a little bold and assuming, none of them have, *as yet*, attempted to invert the seasons, to make it day after sunset, or night after that luminary is risen, or to stop the planets in their course, or keep the winds in the hollow of their hands,* or even to alter the circulation of the blood in the human body, turning it into new channels,† into pipes (suppose) of their own making, and placed in the outside of the skin: but that even such bold, and assuming, and desperate naturalists, would not be more bold, assuming, and desperate, than “they who propose to divert the progress of the divine grace from the channels appointed for conveying it through the mystical body of Christ;” which channels, or pipes, or arteries and veins are, I presume, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, duly ordained.— From this we learn, that God has fixed the channels of divine grace, and confined them to Episcopal churches, as invariably, as he has fixed the ordinary and stated laws of nature: and that the salvation of a christian, in any church, but one of an Episcopal construction, would be fully as miraculous as the “standing still of the sun upon Gibeon, and the staying of the moon in the valley of Ajalon,” or the rapid flight of a stone, which we lift, up to the clouds, instead of its taking a direction towards the centre of the earth. The comfort, as well as illumination, which I have derived from this doctrine, is quite inexpressible.

I believe I should acknowledge, that we are under particular obligations to you and the Rev. C. C. Church-rector of Gosforth, and Minister of Trinity, Whitehaven, for giving us to understand, that the commission to teach the christian religion and administer the sacraments, must be conveyed down, through hands duly authorized, in a di-

* Vind. p. 15.

† Id. p. 97, 98.

rect unbroken line from the apostles, left, being a river, commonly called *the Stream of Succession*, if it were not confined to its own proper channel, but suffered to overflow its banks, it should cease to be a river,* and become a deluge, and so drown all flesh once more; lest we should be accused of forsaking *the fountain of living waters*, that is, of regular Episcopal orders, which our Lord declared himself to be at Jacob's well,† the church being the *cistern* for holding those living waters,—a hewn out cistern, and yet made of earth, and a *chosen vessel*, not a vessel that chose itself.‡

The discoveries enumerated in this Epistle, are, as I have said, entirely new to me; and every reader must acknowledge, that they are illustrated by a great variety of apt similitudes, without either mixture of metaphors, confusion of ideas, or contradiction in terms. But I fear you begin to think that this Letter approaches towards adulation. So I shall conclude with expressing my earnest wish, that all of us, Presbyterians, may be duly thankful for the instruction that we have received.

* Vind. p. 95.

† Id. p. 96.

‡ Id. p. 96, 97.

LETTER II.

THE orders of your church are, I presume, neither more nor less valid, and its constitution neither more nor less apostolical, merely because, as you think, *our* orders are naught, and our ecclesiastical polity too democratical to be divine. It is at least conceivable, that you are not authorized, by scripture and sound reason, to pronounce our orders invalid, and our constitution in no degree apostolical; at any rate, you have not yet answered fully all that we have advanced in defence of both. But, admitting that our church falls short of yours in primitive purity; our ecclesiastical constitution is a thing quite distinct from the moral and religious character of "a great majority of the inhabitants of the land in which we live." No form of religion, nor indeed, any mode of faith, that we have heard of, make all, who adhere to them, what we all ought to be. There is, I have been credibly informed, a mixture of good and bad men in the Episcopal kingdoms of England and Ireland, as well as in *our* country, where presbytery is the *establishment*. Nay, notwithstanding the purifying tendency of your divine model, nothing is more certain, than that it has been part of my professional duty to inflict censures, the very nearest to excommunication, on some that were under *your* Episcopal charge. Hence, in asserting the claim of your church

to a divine origin, I cannot see how *our* general character was concerned in the argument, any more than the general character of the Abyssinians, the Laplanders, or the Esquimaux. Perhaps you wished to make *ours* a foil, for the purpose of setting off, to greater advantage, the splendor of your own. But, in reality, this is unworthy of so acute a philosopher and casuist; who cannot overlook a consideration so obvious, as that a white thing is not really whiter, though it may look better, merely because a black thing is placed near it, and that a pick-pocket is not an amiable character, because he who takes a man's life along with his purse, is a greater criminal. Hence, I cannot suppose, that it is to your conceit and vanity, that we owe the certificate of character you have given us, in your *Vindication of Primitive Truth and Order*.

But, be your motives what they will, it is a fact, that you inform all the world,* that we are no better than the Sadducees and Pharisees of our Saviour's day; having, to prepare us, I suppose, for receiving this Episcopal compliment with a good grace, observed before,† that we possess an undoubted moral superiority to our neighbours; which undoubted moral superiority, as it is defined by you, consists in our not abusing those gifts of the divine goodness, which the divine goodness has not been pleased to bestow upon us.

I do not pretend to deny the fact, which is too well authenticated, that we have, in this vile country, a commodity, which is not to be met with where Episcopacy is the form of the national religion; I mean, a comfortable portion of Sadducees, nay, of downright and thorough paced infidels,

* Vind. p. 18.

† Id. p. 10, 11.

infidels, who do not, like the Sadducees of old, receive the five books of Moses as a divine revelation. And, to tell the truth, if we were to make adherence to a particular form of ecclesiastical polity an essential condition of salvation, and to insist that the apostles of Christ well knew it to be such, and yet treacherously went out of the world without delineating and prescribing it to all christians, our Sadducees, I suspect, would increase and multiply, and replenish "the land in which we live," and at last subdue it.

We have, it must be confessed, our Pharisees also, as well as Sadducees, "in the land in which we live." They are not, however, very numerous; and most of them belong to a church, which has never been on very friendly terms with the establishment.

The name of the famous sect which, according to you, shares a great majority of your countrymen with the sect of the Sadducees, is derived from a word, which signifies *division* or *separation*. Now tell me, who, in this country, are the oldest schismatics, the most obstinate separatists from our religious establishment? Are they not the Scotch Episcopalians? Do you not explicitly, and even with scorn, disclaim all spiritual kindred with the composers of the Confession ratified in 1567; and do you not admit the fact, which was alleged in the Claim of Right at the Revolution, that "this nation had reformed from Popery by Presby-
"ters?"* You say you act on principles, which require and justify your separation.† I give you joy of your principles; every schismatic, since the beginning of the world, has laid claim to such principles: and you may act on them

OR

* Vind. p. 173, et sequ.

† Id. p. 18.

or not, as you please. You are, and you do not deny it, separatists, or schismatics, that is, *Pharisees* in so far.

The Jewish Pharisees looked with disdain on those who presumed to differ from them; and the leaders of that sect, like the heathen Philosophers, regarded the ignoble vulgar as creatures incapable of thinking or judging for themselves in the concerns of religion. “Thou wast altogether born “in sin,” said they to a blind beggar, who reasoned better than themselves, and had the presumption to urge arguments which they could not answer, “and dost thou teach “us?”* “This people,” cried they, “who know not the “law, are cursed.”† Look once more, into the several answers to *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*, which High Church has condescended to publish, and consider with what haughty and insolent disdain you and your Allies are pleased to treat Presbytery and Presbyterians. With Mr. Daubeny, our national establishment is uniformly the *Kirk*, the Professor’s *Kirk*, and nothing but the *Kirk*. With you, Presbytery is neither *Kirk* nor Church. It is not honoured with the appellation of a *religion*, established or not established. It is, unless where you quote the words of another, only the *establishment*! And as for our ecclesiastical office-bearers,—they are—“the Parson and “his Elders.” And who are they, who seem to be nowise fond of, what we earnestly recommend, and sincerely rejoice in,—the people reading their bible? who are they that speak sarcastically of the people going to a bookfeller’s shop for their religion;‡ nay, and insinuate, that they are so mortally stupid, that they cannot know whether they be *conscious* that they believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, whom they

* John ix. 34.

† Id. vii. 10.

‡ Vind. p. 20.

they love and serve, till they go and ask their Bishop or their parish Priest ?*

The language of the Pharisees to other sects was, "Stand by thyself; come not near to me, for I am holier than thou." And is there not a body, (a small body indeed) of Protestants in this land, who rigidly abstain from communion with their fellow christians of all professions but their own, and are exhorted by their pastors to avoid such communion, with those, especially, who differ from them in some things, but nearly agree with them in the form of their worship ?†

The Pharisees compassed sea and land to make one profelyte. They baptized him, and they made him tenfold worse than themselves. And there is a certain church in Scotland, whose clergy delight in making profelytes, but, to be sure, not for the same reason that a lawyer is eager to increase the number of his clients; they re-baptize them, if they will submit to it, in which, no doubt, they are warranted by the doctrine and practice of Cyprian, "the great unlocker of evangelical secrets," as they themselves call him; and whether they *make* their profelytes furious bigots, I shall not pretend to decide, but furious bigots some of them do become, especially if they happen to *get into office*. I have heard of one of the clergy of the church I have in my eye, (a convert he was from Presbytery) who, lest his father should be damned, in consequence of going out of the world with nothing but Presbyterian baptism, himself re-baptized him! To the person, who first presented *him* at the sacred fount, he thus, with the most exemplary

* Vind. p. 109, 110.

† See Lectures in Lent by Bishop Skinner, p. 63.

plary filial piety, acquitted himself of a great obligation ! Is it not with a good grace that the highest dignitary of this same church, retails, with evident complacency, the farcaſtical title beſtowed by Jerom on Lucifer, Biſhop of Cagliari, “ who, becauſe he inſiſted on the re-baptiſm of “ all, whoſe baptiſm had been, in any reſpect, irregular,” was, by his irritable and farcaſtic contemporary, ſtyled “ *the Deucalion of the world?*”*

The Pharifees devoted much of their time to the ſtudy of the *ancients*, and held all their nonſenſe ſacred ; and, by the reſpect they paid to their ſenſeleſs traditions, rendered void the law of God. Let any perſon, of judgment and candour, ſtudy the controverſy on Church Government, and let him ſay, whether *one* of the parties does not pay more reſpect to the traditions (and they are *mere traditions*) of the fathers, than to the oracles of truth ; nay, whether ſome † of the advocates of proper Epiſcopacy do not reſt *its* claim to a *jus divinum* principally, if not ſolely, on the writings of the Fathers ; virtually admitting, that the ſcriptures are not ſo clear and deciſive on the ſubject, but that wiſe and good men may diſagree in their interpretation of them.

The Scotch Epiſcopal Church, like the Romaniſts, is ever boaiſting of the antiquity and univerſality of *her* religion, of which ſhe accounts her eccleſiaſtical polity an eſſential part. And Rabbi Abraham Ben David Halleri (a moſt reſpectable author, if we may judge of him by the ſize of his name) ſupports the ſect of the Pharifees againſt Alpharag, a Spaniſh Rabbi of the ſect of the Sadducees, by the very ſame arguments, their antiquity and univerſality.

* Vind. Note, p. 163.

† See Vind. p. 210.

ty. He proves their *antiquity* by a continued succession, which he traces all the way from Adam down to the year of our Lord 1167; and their *universality* from their being, as it has been said of Scotchmen, to be found every where all the world over. If antiquity and universality be admitted to be a sufficient proof of the divine origin of a religious institution, the religion of the Pharisees is by far the most formidable rival of Scottish Episcopacy, that we have yet heard of; and the sooner that some of your "great champions" enter the lists with Rabbi Abraham Ben David Halleri, the better.

In what regards "the vile hypocrisy of the Pharisees," I decline stating a comparison between them and any body of men upon earth. I am not a searcher of hearts, nor am I thoroughly acquainted with the whole external conduct of any body of men; and I do not think myself at liberty to invade the province of Him who is.

Let me now ask what there is, in the general character of "a great majority of the inhabitants of the land in which we live," that answers to the description of the Pharisees of our Saviour's day, which we find in holy writ?

Are we great pretenders to strict sanctity? Do you, in your Episcopal perambulations, observe some of us, at every corner of the street, turning up a pair of white eyes (for the Pharisees did not read their prayers, nor sing them) and pouring forth thanksgivings and petitions to catch the admiration of the multitude? I am afraid our fault is the reverse of this, and that many of us are ashamed to appear so serious as they really are: so *genteel* are we become.

Are we superstitiously attached to a complicated and burdensome

denfome ceremonial in religion? You call our worfhip naked and meagre, too fpiritual and refined for the prefent embodied ftate of man.

Are we peculiarly oftentatious in our alms-givings, always founding a trumpet when we do a kind action? I have not heard this laid to our charge, and I prefume, you will not deny, that we, as well as our Scotch Epifcopals, can fometimes enjoy the bleffednefs of giving, “without letting our left hand know what our right hand doth.”

Do we pay too great refpect to ancient traditions, and the commandments of men, in the concerns of religion? We pay little or no refpect to them at all, as we are, or think ourfelves chriftians, but only in matters of order, which the Spirit of God has left to the adjustment of human difcretion.

You are pleafed to mention, fpecifically, one thing, in which we refemble the Pharifees of old, and it is “our zealous ignorance of the righteousnefs of God.”* It is not your fault, that we are not profoundly ignorant of “the righteousnefs of God,” and of every thing elfe, which it highly imports man to know. For you afcribe our infidelity, our diverfity of religious opinions, our inclination to debauchery and riot, in which our circumftances do not permit us to indulge practically; in a word, every thing that is bad in the land wherein we live, to—“the advantages which we have long enjoyed in the way of literature, and the eafy accefs, thus afforded, to the general acquisition of knowledge,” and particularly to the acquisition of the dangerous art of reading, by which we are almoft all enabled

* Vind. p. 19.

enabled to peruse the works of Thomas Paine, if we please.* Hence we may infer, that if our advantages in the way of literature were under your controul, they would soon disappear; and that as Mr. Paine boasted that he had gone through Lebanon with his axe, and felled all the cedars thereof; so *you* would think it great glory, to apply *your* axe to the *tree of knowledge*, and bring it to the ground.

I say nothing of your misapplication, to *our* "zealous ignorance," of a passage of holy writ.† I have pleasure in thinking, that you do not understand the words of the apostle; for it is much less disgraceful, even in a Bishop of Bishops, to be ignorant of the meaning of scripture, than wilfully to pervert or misapply it. But wherein does our "zealous ignorance of the righteousness of God" consist? I am not sure that I thoroughly comprehend what you write on this part of the description you give of us; and, indeed, the most friendly Critics ‡ remark, that you are sometimes unintelligible, which may be owing, perhaps to your imperfect comprehension of your subject, and to the load of words under which your ideas are pressed down, till they disappear. But, if I understand what you say,|| in illustration of our zealous ignorance, you mean to inform your readers, that it consists in our not blindly subjecting our understanding to *Priests* duly authorized to lead the blind; and in our being so very senseless as to imagine, that the christian religion is to be learned in "the Bible, a copy of which we buy in a bookseller's shop, and carry home, and read at our leisure, and interpret as we think fit;" that is to say, as we can. This, I confess,

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betrays

* Vind. p. 12.

† Rom. x. 23.

‡ The Anti-jacobin and British Critic.

|| Vind. p. 19, 20.

betrays gross ignorance of the righteousness of God; and the Pope, with his army of Priests, thinks so as well as you. But in this ignorance, (would to God it were more zealous than it is!) we live; in this ignorance our clergy exhort their people to live; and in this ignorance all of us, clergy and people, are firmly resolved to die, come after what will: so, it is quite unnecessary for the *Senior Bishop of the Scotch Episcopal Church*, to give himself any farther trouble about the matter.

LETTER III.



IT is a goodly portrait of “a great majority of your countrymen,” is it not? which you hold up to the world. And that we may relish it the more, you contrast it with a picture of the people of your own communion, somewhat more flattering. “We, of the Episcopal communion, have the credit and comfort of reflecting, that nothing has been said or done, on our part, to promote or encourage wild deviation from the paths of true religion, the ways of unity, peace, and love, which our blessed Redeemer marked out for all his faithful followers.”* In the oldest protestant separatists in Scotland, this is sufficiently modest!—If we may interpret it by the context before and behind, the sentence I have quoted gives us to understand, that you have done every thing in your power to check the success of our home missionaries. It may be so, for ought I know. But *your* exertions for this purpose, nobody, who reads your account of the home missionaries,† will impute to the most disinterested motives; for, it seems they have the presumption to rival High Church, in her modest pretensions to an exclusive mission from heaven to preach the gospel. It is not, then, for the true religion,

* Vind. p. 17, 18.

† Id. p. 16.

nor the ways of unity, peace, and love, that you contend, when you oppose the missionaries for propagating the gospel at home. It is *pro aris et focis* that you fight.

You insinuate, with a degree of hesitation that is not often observed to accompany your decisions, that the establishment has little reason to hope for success in endeavouring to keep its ground against this new and presumptuous sect, which is the more formidable, because it is under the impulse of a sort of phrenzy, a disease, whose nature presbyterians, being *bit* themselves, do not understand, and which, of consequence, they are not able to cure; to say nothing of our church government having, even in its highest judicatory, only *something like ecclesiastical authority*, the grand panacea for religious disorders.† But you gradually become bolder, and inform us, that we *cannot have* ecclesiastical authority, the ministry of our clergy having been derived from a contempt of a regular apostolic mission.†— You afterwards speak out still more plainly, and tell us to our face, that our ministers are “bold intruders, and” (as if usurpation were warrantable in *some cases*) “unwarranted usurpers.”‡

Behold the first fruits of that gratitude, “which you thought it your bounden duty to express to all in the established church, who had any hand in procuring for you the toleration, which you now happily enjoy!”||—the first fruits of that gratitude, which you owe to all the loyal inhabitants of this land, who, in 1792, shewed that they heartily forgave, and were willing to forget for ever, the various attempts of your party, to bring this free and hap-

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* Vind. p. 17.

† Ibid.

‡ Id. p. 101, 103, 104.

|| Id. p. 449.

py country once more under the dominion of a Popish despot, and, consequently to subvert the constitution in church and state! From the gratitude of High Church, “good Lord deliver us!” Her enmity we can bear; we have borne it long without repining; but her love is intolerable.

Contemplate, for a moment, the picture of us, which you exhibit to the world; and then say, whether it be not miraculous, that society has subsisted in this country for so long as since 1803, when your *Vindication* was published? A great majority of the nation either unprincipled infidels or vile hypocrites;—our ecclesiastical government as little entitled to the obedience of the people, as it is unfit to ensure their reverence; our clergy all intruders and usurpers, without mission from heaven, and without right to the place they hold!

That High Church should have degraded herself, and contaminated her hitherto unfullied purity, by the acceptance of any obligation, of any kind, from such a mass of corruption, at once an object of contempt and of detestation, would surprize us not a little, if we did not know, that great pride and great meanness are often united, and that the haughtiest and most insolent of mankind, when they can pick up something that is good for them, are sometimes seen to stoop, even to the ground.

When, in defence of your *jus divinum*, you put us in mind, that it is in *your* church only, or in churches of the same construction, that men can be saved, we only smile. We know that an intolerant bigot feels no more of the “compunctious visitings of nature,” after he has consigned millions to everlasting burning with a single dash of his pen, than another man feels upon cutting up an oyster

or a boiled mufſel: it is the *nature* of the being. Why were not you ſatisfied with telling your readers, that all, except Episcopalianſ, go to deſtruction? This would have rendered your Episcopalian zeal ſufficiently illuſtrious; and it could not poſſibly hurt any body but yourſelf. But you do ſomething worſe. You found the *toſſin* of rebellion in the ears of our people, telling them, that they are under the ſpiritual government of men, who neither have, nor have a right to, any authority over them whatever. You inform them that our higheſt judicatory poſſeſſes only the ſhadow of eccleſiaſtical authority, and that even that ſhadow is an uſurpation. You hold up our clergy to their flocks, as a body of pretenders to a commiſſion from our Lord, who occupy the places, and enjoy the rights, of other men, at the manifeſt riſque of the everlaſting ruin both of themſelves and their people.

Quæ mens tam dira, miſerrime——
Impulit *his* cingi telis?——

I do not ſay, that you *meant* to imitate the infidel philoſophiſts of France, who lately ſubverted the eſta bliſhed religion of their country, by repreſenting it to their countrymen as founded on ſacerdotal impoſture and uſurpation, and an affront to their underſtanding: but you have, in fact, imitated them. I do not ſay that you have the ſame object in view, which is aimed at by our miſſionaries for propagating the goſpel at home. If their leaders be not actuated by fanaticiſm, the object which they purſue, is too nefarious for you. But you tread in their ſteps. And though the profeſſed principle on which they act be different from yours, the reſult to us would be the ſame, if either of you ſhould gain credit with our people. They maintain, that we either cannot, or will not, preach the everlaſting goſ-

gospel to our people, and that our ecclesiastical constitution is anti-christian, and therefore ruinous to the souls of men. *Your* doctrine is, not only that our constitution is unscriptural, but that our clergy have no right, no call from heaven, to preach the gospel, and, therefore, that the blessing of God cannot be expected to accompany their labours.

Is it not strange, to behold High Church fraternizing with infidels and Haldanite Independents? No provocation, that you could receive from Dr. Campbell, or any individual, or indeed, any number of our clergy or laity, can justify this unnatural alliance. It is utterly irreconcilable with sincerity in your professions of loyalty, and of a regard to the peace and welfare of your country, by whose government you are protected, and have been recently relieved from the pressure of every legal restraint and disability, which your former disaffection brought you under.—Presbytery, whatever be its merits as a form of ecclesiastical polity, (and I should “think foul scorn” to defend them against such assailants as you and the Anti-jacobin; presbytery) *is* the established religion of the country: it is connected with the State, and, I will add, affords it no feeble support: and the Sovereign is bound, by his coronation oath, to defend and maintain it. It is absurdly, and it is contrary to fact, that you call your church the *ancient* establishment of the country, unless you mean to identify your religious profession with Popery. Did not the nation of Scotland “reform from Popery by Presbyters?” Do not you cordially acquiesce in this allegation of the *Claim of Right*? Has not Presbytery then, an unquestionable title to the designation of the *ancient*, as well as of the *present*, establishment of the country? It has every right to the place it holds, that can result from prior occupancy, and from long and legal possession. It is strange, that,

while you are loud, and rather more tedious than some of your friends think necessary,* in your professions of loyalty, you endeavour to subvert an important part of the constitution of your country, by labouring to bring the established religion, and its ministers, under general contempt. Has your loyalty no other objects but merely the person and prerogative of the Sovereign? He is, what Sir William Temple advised the Second Charles to be, “The man of his people;” and therefore is he the greatest king in the world. His greatness rests on his inviolable regard to the constitution of his country. Do you think that the *Sultan* of the British Isles would be a great King? Imagine not, that you can flatter a Sovereign of Britain, by separating, in your professions of loyalty, the person and the prerogative of the Prince from the constitution of the country. Your church boasts of her attachment to monarchy. She has given better proof of her attachment to despotism, which is quite a different thing. Every man to his mind. If you are in love with the despotism of James II. you may go to France after him, where you will enjoy the comforts of that sort of government in their full perfection. As for us, of the Established Church, who have given fully as unequivocal and substantial proofs of loyalty as you, we will stay at home, and enjoy the blessings of a government, whose illustrious Chief rules over *men*, by fixed and known laws, and not over *slaves* subjected to the capricious tyranny of an arbitrary despot;—a Chief who reigns in the hearts of his people. We abhor and detest Jacobinism, and we have resisted it with vigour and effect. But we do not the more, for that reason, admire Anti-jacobinism run mad.

Although I have addressed you with great freedom, and
some

* See Anti-jac. V. xvii. p. 133.

some degree of indignation, on the nature and tendency of your attack on our national character and national church; that attack, you may be assured, excites no alarm: for why? The Anti-jacobin Reviewer of *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*, however meanly he may think of Knox or of Calvin, has, in the face of the sun, pledged himself to protect the *Kirk*, "because the King is bound, by his coronation oath, to afford it protection and support:"—the generous and loyal gentleman might have added, "because it is protected by law." In consequence of the assurance, that the King and the law may depend on such powerful aid, to enable His Majesty to fulfil the obligations of his coronation oath, and the law to protect and support its own establishment, we shall all, henceforth, feel quite secure, and mock at fear. The Anti-jacobin, that, if there be sense or gratitude in us, we may be taught to respect the church to which he belongs, a little more than Dr. Campbell's Editor seems to have done, when he published *Lectures* so offensive to High Church, calls upon us to take notice, (for he does not give without upbraiding) that he has already done essential service to the *Kirk*, and consequently to the King and the law. He says,* that he has waged war with the Haldanites and Burgher Seceders, and absolutely written to death the Edinburgh Clerical Review of infamous memory,—and all for the security of the King's honour, and of our existence; for, from Haldanites, Burgher Seceders, and Clerical Reviewers, *his* church, it would seem, has nothing to apprehend, which is owing, I presume, to the sublime origin of its ecclesiastical authority; an authority, which strikes its head against the stars, as sings the poet—

"Sublimiferio sidera vertice."

Was

* See his altercation with Dr. Campbell's Biographer.

Was ever any thing heard of, out of Bedlam, more ludicrously insolent than the whim, that has seized this man's brain? A national church, established on the firm foundation of law, under a legal government, and including in its bosom almost all that is great in rank, and learning, and wealth, and power, in this ancient kingdom, depending for protection and support on an anonymous scribbler in a periodical pamphlet!

“ The Sultan and I would never have permitted Charles XII. to add so vast a country as Russia to his dominions.”
 “ The Sultan and you?” “ Yes, the Sultan and I. Do
 “ you know me, Sir? I am the Cham of Tartary.”

The Anti-jacobin thinks, there is no possibility of defending Episcopacy, but at the expence of Presbytery. This, with the solemn pledge that he has given, to protect and support Presbytery “ against all deadly,” places him, on some occasions (as when he is reviewing latitudinarian performances) in a very awkward predicament. But if he cannot defend Episcopacy on the only rational grounds, on which any system of ecclesiastical polity in existence can be defended, I mean lawfulness, and expediency in certain circumstances, let him give up the protection and support of the *Kirk*. It is probable, that he will have His Majesty's most gracious pardon; and as for the *Kirk*, she does, I can assure the gentleman, regard his protection and his hostility with equal contempt.

LETTER IV.

THE Works of the *Lecturer on Ecclesiastical History* are before the tribunal of the public; and the public will judge for itself concerning his literary merit, without paying much regard to your verdict or mine. His character also, as a christian and a divine, is sufficiently known; for he was no anchoret, nor did he live seventy-seven years in an obscure corner. Hence, in addressing you on the picture of him, that you have exhibited to the world, I, by no means, wish to be considered as assuming the office either of his vindicator or his panegyrist: happily his memory stands not in need of this service. My object, in this part of *Presbyterian Letters*, is twofold;—*First*, To call attention to the *Spirit* which High Church breathes, and to induce the reflecting and candid reader to judge for himself, whether the principles which cherish that spirit, be truly christian principles, or not;—and, *Secondly*, To illustrate the propositions which follow; “He is not the worse arguer, who puts his antagonist in a violent passion;” and, “when a controversy loses his temper, and is full of that kind of matter, which pours itself forth in virulent reflections, it is a shrewd presumption that he has little confidence, either in the goodness of his cause, or in his own ability to defend it.” Indeed, when I meet with passionate invectives, sent to the grave after a deceased writer of learning and talents, it puts me always in mind of the fable, which speaks of a living ass kicking a dead lion.

LETTER

LETTER V.

THE *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*, "you insinuate,* are *ill digested*. It may be so. Perhaps the bad arrangement may have been owing to a certain confusion of ideas, and a narrowness of comprehension, which were natural to the author; and you must admit, that every professor of Theology in Scotland is not obliged to have so clear a head, and so large a compass of mind, as a dignitary, who fills so high a station as the primacy. The Lecturer, it is probable, out of regard to the improvement of his pupils, and out of respect to the public, did his best; and, you know, Aristotle, Longinus, and Bishop Skinner, did no more. You excuse the Lecturer's *head*, on the subject of his faulty arrangement, but alas! it is at the expence of his heart; for you tell us,† that "such ill digested Lectures could come only from a person, who found it necessary to touch the true nature and constitution of the church very tenderly, because the ground on which he stood in his official capacity, was not sufficiently firm to bear him up in any other language than that of the false prophets of old, who spoke smooth things, and professed deceits, because the people loved to have it so." [Y] Right! The Lecturer has been afraid lest he should forfeit his double gown, if he ventured to speak out, clearly and *methodically*, what he knew about the true nature and constitution

* Vind. p. 21.

† Id. p. 21.

[Y] See Notes.

stitution of the church. Therefore, to procure a subsistence, “ he spoke smooth things, and prophesied deceits, “ because the people among whom he ministered, loved to “ have it so.” You very properly contrast his conduct with that of a man *of another stamp*, Dr. Horne, who, being a Bishop in the church of England, wrote clearly in favour of Episcopacy, and set the fear of deprivation at defiance. Yet, strange to tell! our author of *ill digested Lectures*, notwithstanding the tenderness of the ground on which he stood in his official capacity, “ supports and recommends a system of ecclesiastical order and discipline, “ almost as different from that which is established in Scotland, as it is opposite to every thing of the kind to be met “ with in the primitive church.” From this borrowed calumny you take occasion to infer, with a candour and benignity truly worthy of a christian pastor, that he would have exerted his utmost ability to subvert his own church, if it had not taken care to purchase his services at a handsome price. [Z]

To tell the truth, the *Kirk*, [Aa] to use, once more, the respectful and elegant modern phrase, in which Mr. Daubeny delights so much (the Kirk) bribes high. It gave our Lecturer a theological chair in Marischal College, and a Lecturership, on neither of which singly, can a clergyman live decently, even in Scotland, where there is no contiguous Episcopal pomp to shame the frugal simplicity of the humble Presbyter’s mode of living: this is the cause that they are always united. As to the Principality of the College, it is not an ecclesiastical office, nor did the Lecturer owe it, in any sense, to the *Kirk*. That he stuck firmly, then, to an establishment, which, though he hated it in his heart,

[Z] Vind. p. 44. See Notes.

[Aa] See Notes.

heart, rewarded his adherence so *munificently*, we cannot wonder. Could he have carried his abilities to a better market?

By and by, however, with a consistency, which shews how well *your* ideas are “digested,” and how strong are your powers of recollection, you represent the Lecturer as a bigot to his own church, and as delighting in an opportunity, which he created to himself on purpose, of giving a favourable view of *its* discipline, and of misrepresenting the polity and discipline of the Church of England.*—Strange! Hating his own church at heart, but afraid to speak what he knew of the nature and constitution of the holy catholic church, lest he should be turned out of office;—but speaking out boldly, and representing the primitive order and discipline to be totally different from those of the establishment; yet enthusiastically attached to the discipline of his own church after all! The discord that reigned in Chaos, when

“Obstabatque aliis aliud, quia corpore in uno
“Frigida pugnabant calidis, humentia siccis, &c.”

must have been harmony in comparison of the uproar of jarring sentiments, that agitated Dr. Campbell’s mind! But this is not all.

Though a bigot to his own church, which he hated, and in order to make way for the Independent scheme, would have exerted his whole might to subvert, if he had not been generously rewarded for living quietly, you shrewdly suspect, that he was, at bottom, not a little inclined to Popery;—why? He coincides in opinion with Bellarmine, who maintained, that none of the apostles, but Peter, had suc-

* Vind. p. 140.

successors !*—It is, I must confess, quite indisputable, that no man can agree with a Roman Cardinal, on any point, either of ecclesiastical history or divinity, without being more than half prepared for the ceremony of prostration at his Holiness' feet. Unfortunately for the reputation of the *Kirk*, its "great champion" goes a step farther than the Lecturer, and explicitly acknowledges, that there have been persons, not a few, of the Romish communion, who had common sense, and some portion of learning; "wise and great men," he calls them. "From these, and other instances of a similar nature," you infer, that "between Popery and Presbytery, the difference, in many things, is not so great as is generally imagined."† This inference is *strictly logical!* For, to say nothing of the *names* of the two religious professions, which both begin with the very same letter of the alphabet,—not to mention the hackneyed observation, that extremes are apt to meet; it is unquestionable, that the opinions of learned men on a controverted subject, which has no connexion with the grand and fundamental truths of our religion, are quite decisive of the genius and character of that form of christianity, to which they adhere!

The clergy of your church are blessed with extraordinary sagacity in discovering points of likeness between Popery and Presbytery. In this quality High Church seems to have

* You ask where the Lecturer could have learned this? I answer, Does he not prove it from the New Testament by arguments, which you in vain attempt to refute? I answer farther, that it is shameful in a dignitary of High Church, to ask a question, which betrays ignorance of the writings of Dodwell, Whitby, and many other Episcopal authors of character, all of whom coincide with the Roman Cardinal.

have improved greatly, since the era of the pious and liberal author of *A Tale of a Tub*; for that author thought, and also ventured to assert firmly, that *Bald Jack*, alias Knocking John of the North, tore his patrimonial coat with *too strong* a hand; that is, being interpreted, that Presbytery departed *too far* from Popery. But, perhaps the sagacity, of which I am speaking, like the keen scent, with which some species of dogs are endowed, may be a family quality. For the Author of *Letters on the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland* makes much the same discovery that you have made; and he communicates it to the Catholic Church in those Letters, just at the end of the first volume. This reverend gentleman, who was educated a Presbyterian, and, therefore, knew well what spirit Presbytery is of, takes occasion to remark, that “the same era produced two of the greatest enemies, that ever primitive Episcopacy had to grapple with, Loyola and Calvin. The followers of the latter,” he says, “have been the bitterest revilers and opposers of the sacred hierarchy; those of the former boldly and openly impugn the independence and authority of the Episcopal order.” “Here,” he adds, “the Calvinists and Jesuits, whatever antipathy may be thought to subsist between them in other articles, seem to agree as friends, like Herod and Pontius Pilate on another occasion.” Just so, Mr. Skinner. The two cases, that of the coalition between Calvinists and Jesuits in opposing the sacred hierarchy, and that of Herod and Pontius Pilate, who laid aside their former enmity, and joined together against the Son of God, are quite parallel, with this difference only, that, to oppose the aggrandizement of the *servants*, or strive to check their unbounded ambition, is, it must be confessed, a much more atrocious crime, than to consign the *Master* to shame and death!—Thus do High Churchmen think and write.

LETTER VI.



THE difference between Popery and Presbytery being very inconsiderable, it was natural for the Lecturer to hate the Church of England, which is equally hostile to both. The argument is confirmed by the fact. He assures his hearers, that nothing was farther from his design, in tracing the apostolic model of government, than to dispute the lawfulness of Episcopacy, or even its expediency in certain circumstances. He explicitly bears *his* testimony to the respectability of the Church of England; and he calls upon his pupils to observe, that his remarks on the confusion of spiritual and secular jurisdiction in that church, by no means affect "the doctrine taught, the morals inculcated, or the worship practised." He does not, indeed, speak in terms of approbation, of what he thought faulty in the discipline and polity of the Church of England, nor has he given that proof of his reverence for any church on earth. This he left to senseless bigots, and hireling scribblers, and periodical pamphleteers, who have *engaged* to defend all existing establishments through right and through wrong, and to resist all changes for the better, however modestly proposed, and temperately pursued.

Such are the proofs of hostility to the Episcopacy beyond the Tweed, which Dr. Campbell's Lectures exhibit; and they, indisputably, justify you and *The Literary Censor* in asserting, that the Lecturer "misrepresents, belies, and " "attacks, with the most rancorous violence, the constitution of " "the Church of England;" [Bb] and published his Lectures for the evident purpose of bringing the Episcopal Church of Scotland into utter and everlasting contempt!*

But his antipathy to those two churches is nothing in itself, in comparison of some of its effects; for, it seems, it was an *active* principle in the Lecturer's breast. You gravely inform us,† that he insidiously attempted to set the Church of England dissenters in this country, and the Scotch Episcopals, by the ears together, that he might stand by, and see his enemies avenge, on one another, his quarrel with both. And by what means does he labour to accomplish this christian purpose? Why, he calls the Church of England dissenters "moderate and reasonable!" There is a time for every thing under the sun. At any period before the year 1800, the Lecturer's ill-natured attempt to sow dissention between the Scotch and English Episcopacy, would have been quite harmless. But to make it at the very season, when you, who are at the head of one, desire earnestly for the advancement of religion, to be at the head of both, was malicious in the extreme.

There are some captious and uncandid reflections, which it requires rather more than human patience to bear with coolness; and this seems to me to be one of them. Did you ever peruse the works of a clergyman, who belongs to the Scotch Episcopacy, and published Lectures for Lent
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[Bb] See Notes.

* Vind. p. 450.

† Id. p. 356.

just fourteen years before the publication of *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*, and at the sixty-third page of that work, calls the meetings of the English dissenters in this country *schismatical assemblies*, and earnestly admonishes the young christians under his charge, to avoid all communion, in religious worship, with those damnable schismatics, garbling and perverting the words of a holy and inspired apostle, and prostituting them to his unchristian purpose? Which of the two, that clergyman, or Dr. Campbell, has done most “to keep up that unnecessary distinction, between the Scotch and English Episcopacy, which has subsisted too long?” Who but must feel indignant disdain, when he is told, that the clergyman I allude to, is that very dignitary, who now dares, in the face of the world, to rebuke Dr. Campbell, for what? For calling the Church of England Dissenters “moderate and reasonable?”

Quis tulerit *Gracchos de seditione querentes?*

So much for the liberality and candor, which you discover in the *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*.

LETTER VII.

LET us now enquire, whether our Lecturer's piety be not as liable to Episcopal reprehension, as his charity toward those who differ from him.

To say nothing of his calling the Christian religion a more *rational and divine* dispensation than the Jewish, for which, I must own, he has no better warrant than the declarations of the Holy Spirit, by the mouth of prophets and apostles;* to say nothing of his "degrading the sacred character of Philip," by calling him, after Luke, only a trustee for the poor, at the time he baptized the Ethiopian eunuch;—to pass over "the unworthy," that is, the impious comparison, which he uses, when he asserts, that the christian church, in the beginning, no more trespassed on the prerogative of the civil power, when it expelled or re-admitted members, than a knot of artists or philosophers does, when it exercises the same privilege;—to pass over all

* See Ezek. xx. 25. Acts xv. 10. Gal. iv. 9, & passim. Heb. viii. 6 & passim, &c. &c.

all this, though, to confess the truth, it looks ill; you call our attention to some facts, which bring the Lecturer's piety, and even his belief of our religion, under still greater suspicion; I mean his extreme civility to infidels of talent, "his coincidence with them, in sentiment, respecting some "obscure points in the christian antiquities," nay, and in general, "the favourable opinion he entertains of the sentiments professed by one of the most insidious and inveterate enemies of Christianity;"—and his quoting the same historical facts from the same authorities with the infidel Gibbon.*

It must be acknowledged, (for I will defend the Lecturer only where I can do it with decency) that if he had been a *real* christian, like Bishop Skinner and the Anti-jacobin, he would have been so far from quoting the same fact, and "almost in the same words," with Gibbon, that he would have rejected, with a mixture of horror and disdain, *every* historical fact, without exception, that has been contaminated by the pen of an infidel, and every discovery "with regard to obscure points in the christian antiquities," which he himself had made in common with learned unbelievers. This would have rendered his faith unquestionable, and as illustrious in the Catholic Church, as is the faith of Bishop Skinner. Yet true it is, and of verity, that he did believe and quote Basil and Gregory of Nyssa, (though quoted by Gibbon, through Tillemont) as relating, that, when Gregory Thaumaturgus was made Bishop of Neocesarea, he found no more than seventeen christians in his whole diocese; profanely omitting to mention, doubtless because Gibbon does not mention it, that Gregory left,

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* Vind. p. 265, Note, p. 452, 453.

at his death, only *seventeen pagans*, in all that extensive diocese.

You do not fail to apprise your readers, that, when the Lecturer had the fairest opportunity, in a private letter to Mr Strahan, of reprobating the infidel historian of the Roman empire, and his history, he *applauded* the history as well written, and the historian as a man of learning and penetration.

Far be it from me to deny, that, with regard to infidels, Dr. Campbell had a strange way of thinking and of acting. If an infidel wrote well;—if his work manifested penetration, research, or metaphysical acuteness, the Lecturer never detracted from the applause which the public voice bestowed, and never arraigned that style and manner, in an infidel writer, as low or execrable, which he would have commended in a christian. If he did not think it meet to defend the sacred cause of religion by misrepresentation, calumny, and detraction; weapons, which he seems to have thought, the Master of us all does not require us to employ in his service; weapons, which are worse than carnal, for they are devilish. But, though he did not detract from the merits of infidels, nor calumniate their characters, he shewed no mercy to their arguments. Indeed, he appears to have thought, whether justly or not, I leave to the judicious to decide, that though, in his wrath, he had torn the reputation of a free thinker quite to pieces, this operation would not have confuted his reasoning.—Hence he never murdered the character of an infidel, and then put off the refutation of his arguments to another time. This he left to the contemptible rabble of controvertists, or rather scribblers, who can stain paper with personal abuse, but cannot reason.

As a farther proof of the Lecturer's partiality to infidels, you call the attention of your readers to his civility to the infidel Hume,* (whose *Essay on Miracles*, by the bye, he was *uncivil* enough to refute, which is more than the whole Episcopal Church of Scotland ever did in defence of christianity;) and you contrast it with his *incivility* to the ancient establishment of the country.

It is plain, that, if he had been disposed to be as liberal and polite to you, as, at the request of a literary friend, he was to the sceptical philosopher, he would have sent you his manuscript before publication, and paid respect to your corrections. But his Lectures may very warrantably be supposed to be somewhat offensive to more bodies of men, "professing to be christians," than the head and members of the Scotch Episcopal Church. They are not all, I suspect, quite palatable at the Vatican; no, nor perhaps in England; at least, Mr. Daubeny does not seem to relish them much. The manuscript, therefore, should have been sent to Rome first. His Holiness there has an unquestionable title to that compliment; for he is no obscure prelate, and his chair is not of yesterday, being the identical chair, with the twelve labours of Hercules engraven on it, in which St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, and the First of the Popes, was wont to sit in the midst of their Eminencies, his Cardinals. From Rome, the manuscript should have returned to His Grace at Canterbury, and finally landed with my Lord Primus at Aberdeen. As the Lectures will not, it is probable, be soon translated into modern Greek, and Coptic, and the Asiatic languages, there could be no particular occasion for sending them to Constantinople,

* Vind. p. 451,

ple, before publication, nor to Alexandria, Jerufalem, Damafcus, &c. But by the time they had made the *grand tour* in Europe, and been fubjected to all the neceffary *expurgations*; “ every expreffion that is fevere, or even deemed “ offensive, having been expunged or foftened;” * it is a thoufand to one, if the Lecturer would have recognized his own work ; which, in all probability, would have been in the fituation of the man, who had the misfortune to have two nieces, the one of whom took a diflike to his *grey* hairs, and plucked them up by the roots ; and the other, for the fame caufe, ferved his *black* hairs in the fame manner. The confideration, now fuggelted, does, I prefume, fufficiently account, without bringing the fincerity of the Lecturer’s belief in Chrift under fufpicion, for his not having fent his manufcript to *you*. As the whole of the artillery played off in the Lectures, is not pointed, excluſively, againſt the *Venerable Ruin*, of which you are the Commandant ; and, as it would have been troublefome, and, perhaps dangerous to the manufcript itfelf, to fend it over all Europe ; the author was obliged to withhold it from Your Church in particular, left he ſhould have given offence to other “ bodies of men,” rather more numerous than our Scotch Epifcopals, and not lefs refpectable, “ profefling to be chriſtians.”

It is not unworthy of remark, by the way, that you take no notice of the applauſe, which Dr. Campbell lavifhes upon Hume, nor of the obligations which he acknowledges to that gentleman’s metaphyfical writings ; and that the
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* Dr. Campbell himſelf ſays, that he paid reſpect to Mr. Hume’s corrections, *only where they did not affect his argument*, which was the utmoſt extent of the compliment that he paid to the Sceptic.— See Pref. Diſſertation on Miracles, laſt edition.

same violent indignation does not appear, when you speak of his liberality to the Sceptical Philosopher, which bursts forth, when you advert to his applause of Gibbon. From this flattering distinction, Mr. Hume, who spent almost his whole life, and exerted his grand talents to the last, in labouring to subvert the faith in Christ, and to tear from the human heart its firmest support and sweetest consolation, amid the fears and sorrows of mortality, is, perhaps, indebted to his *political principles*, which, like charity, “cover a multitude of sins.”

LETTER

LETTER VIII.



I CANNOT say, whether we are to refer to the Lecturer's impiety, or to his insufferable indelicacy, the comparison that he states between *ordination* and *marriage*. You reprehend it * with great gravity, and that profound regard to the *το πρεπον*, which befits the Head of a Christian Church. Yet, if I do not mistake, the marriage service of your mother church in England, which, for ought I know, may be used in *your* church, calls the union of husband and wife, "holy matrimony," and also says, that "holy matrimony doth signify unto us the mystical union that is between Christ and his church." Why, then, should it be "indelicate" in a *presbyterian*, and "inconsistent with the character, which ought to be maintained by every professor of christian divinity," to compare the relation that subsists between a Bishop and his charge, to the union of husband and wife? Is that relation more sacred than the "mystical union that is between Christ and his church?" How many hundred saints could I name, besides the compilers of the English Liturgy, who all compare ordination

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* Vind. p. 362.

to marriage, and marriage to the relation that subsists between Christ and his church? But your reprehension of the Lecturer's indelicacy cuts deeper, and wounds in a place, to which we ought all to look with the utmost dread of offending. Are you really serious in it? Then I begin to tremble for the sacred penmen themselves, who, if the comparison of ordination with marriage should, during your primacy, come before the Council of *Laurencekirk*, cannot escape being condemned and anathematized, "with torches burning." What a multitude of passages of holy writ * might I refer to, where the relation between Christ, the Bishop of Souls, and his people, (which is at least as "holy" as the relation of a Scottish Bishop to his diocese) is likened to "holy matrimony!"

It was impossible to rescue the nonsensical doctrine of the "mystical and indelible character impressed at ordination," from the ridicule fixed upon it by the Lecturer's (that is in reality the sacred writers') "strained analogy," as you are pleased to call it. It was, therefore, necessary, either to be silent on the subject, or to reflect acrimoniously on the Lecturer. You have, with almost unexampled inconsideration, stumbled upon the latter plan. Hence you have been betrayed into a reprehension of the Spirit himself; which, I suspect, a person less indulgent to you, than I am disposed to be, would call blasphemy. Consider only, for a moment, into what an enormous offence either pruriency of imagination, or violent anger, or both, have seduced you. You are in a dilemma the most perplexing imaginable. You *must* either acquit the Lecturer, or condemn the sacred writers. A certain French Curate, in a like situation, *took himself off* in the following manner: But

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* Take for one, Eph. v. 26—32.

I do not recommend his example to your imitation. The Curate had been declaiming furiously from the pulpit against public weddings, of which he said many things as harsh as they were senseless; and particularly, that public weddings were invented by the devil. A gentleman, who was one of the hearers, happening to meet the preacher the next day, took the liberty of saying, that he had spoken rashly of public weddings. "Do not you know, father," said he, "that our Saviour went to a public wedding in Cana, and there wrought his first miracle, to prolong the harmless festivity of the day? Would *He*, do you think, give countenance to an invention of the devil?" The Curate not being so well acquainted with the New Testament as with his Breviary, was struck with this remonstrance. But after a moment's silence, he muttered, (for you know he durst not speak aloud, lest the Virgin, who was also at the wedding in Cana, should hear him;) "It may be so; but that was not the *best* thing that he did."

LETTER

LETTER IX.

I HAVE taken notice of a few of the symptoms of impiety and infidelity, which you discern in the *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*. I have not overlooked the deceased author's bigotted attachment to his own church, which you insinuate plainly enough, he would have laboured to subvert, if he could have lived as comfortably by opposing, as he did by serving it; while, all along, he secretly favoured the congregational scheme, and, like all other presbyterians, sincere and not sincere, he had some inclination to popery. Put all these together, and they compose a character, in what regards religion, as uncommon as it is estimable. I scarcely think we can find its "like again" in a divinity chair, or anywhere else, either in ancient or modern times.—The traits that follow, though black enough, dwindle into mere specks, scarcely noticeable, when they are brought near to the *great blot* that stains his memory, his *religious hypocrisy*.

If, as you labour to convince your readers, the late Dr. Campbell trifled with Omniscience, by serving a church for bread, which, if he could have carried his talents to a better

ter market, he would have had pleasure in undermining and destroying ; it can excite no surprize to learn, that he was in the practice of trying to impose upon men. Though he cordially hated the Church of England, which manifestly appears from his not approving every thing, in the polity and discipline of that church, whether he thought it right or wrong ; yet, you fail not to take notice, he dedicated his Translation of the Gospels to an English Bishop !*— But to crown his character at once, and in few words, in what regards duplicity, you bring forward to public notice, within a few pages of the end of your *Vindication*, a most extraordinary fact, and you endeavour to prove it too, or, at least, to give it an air of probability ; such an air as will ensure the firm belief of all true Scotch Episcopalians. You say you have *some reason to suspect*, that the Lecturer's motive in acting a friendly part for procuring to your church the toleration, which it happily enjoys, was not that liberal and enlarged charity, which he so earnestly recommends, but—what ? The hope of annihilating the Scotch Episcopal Church altogether, by giving it peace with the state ; that is, by withdrawing the supporting hand of persecution, and thus leaving it, unprotected, as it now is, by restrictions and disabilities, to be beaten down by the artillery of the Pres !—If your suspicion be well-founded, (and you seem to think it is so) we may next proceed to *suspect*, that, if ever the Lecturer gave alms in all his life, it was in hope that the person, on whom he bestowed it, would go straight to the tavern, get drunk, and break his neck in his way home, and trouble *him* no more.

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* Vind Note, p. 223. With all his hatred to Dr. Douglas' church, I scarcely believe that the Lecturer was inclined to hurt the Bishop in his body, his reputation, or his estate. But this is only *my* opinion.

It is *thus* that High Church discharges her obligations to Presbyterians! If they do her a kindness, (and she is not above accepting a kindness, even from Presbyterians) she thanks them, and then, in the next breath, sends them to the devil, telling them, as they depart, that she "has reason to suspect" they never *meant* her any favour, but the reverse. It would seem, the peculiar favourites of heaven have not only the privilege of *breaking faith* with heretics, but also that of repaying, to *them*, all obligations, with a sort of coin, in which any man may be rich, who can contrive to dismiss the candid and charitable spirit of a christian, and the manners of a gentleman.

But, being disposed to put the most favourable construction on all that you write, I will explain what you would be at in this strange attack on the memory of the Lecturer, (and it is strange indeed!) without supposing that you are so ungrateful, in *reality*, to your deceased benefactor, as you are in *appearance*. The toleration which "he recommended as reasonable, and what, he thought, would be agreeable to the Established Church of Scotland," is not complete, and yet might have been made so, if it had pleased the Lecturer. It has, indeed, disarmed the law; but alas! it does not restrain the *press*, a blow from which you do not deny * to be "severer than any effect of fines and imprisonments." All is out! Your peculiarities in religion are not founded in argument: or, at least, however strong you affect to think your arguments, you express your want of confidence in the ability of those, whose business it is to urge them. Almost the only chance that your communion has for prolonged existence, rests on the truth of the ancient adage actually reduced to practice, "The blood
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* Vind. p. 449, 450.

“ of the martyrs is the feed of the church.” What hindered you then, to get your *jus divinum* ratified and confirmed by the same Act 1792, which extended to you your happy toleration? The Commons of Great Britain and Ireland lately gave their sanction to the doctrine of *the indelible character*.* Your *jus divinum* is only the next step in absurdity; and the Legislature of 1792 was fully as competent to ratify it, as the Parliament of Edward VI. was to enact, that the first reformed Liturgy “ was composed by the aid of “ the Holy Ghost.” But, at any rate, what hinders the Legislature, even now, to forbid, under the pain of death, without *benefit of clergy*, the publication of any book or pamphlet, in any language, not excepting that of the Hot-tentots and Caffrees, in which “ your spiritual character, and “ the validity of your clerical orders,” are called in question? You may be assured, that the Established Church of Scotland will not petition to be heard by Counsel against this enactment. Our church will undoubtedly be protected by the State on principles of economy; for it costs less than would be a *breakfast* to a hierarchy, even though, like the clergy of Rome in the time of Ammianus Marcellinus, the said hierarchy were to fast three days in the week. Besides, we have some confidence in our own ability to defend our Church by reasoning; a confidence, which you seem to have lost.†

* In the case of Horne Tooke.

† Vind. p. 450.

LETTER X.

IF we admit your representation of the Lecturer's hypocrisy and duplicity to be just, we shall not be backward to believe, that he could degrade his character by all the little chicane in arguing, to which little men have recourse, in order to make "the worse appear the better reason." His unfairness you carefully expose. When we look into your *Vindication*, and particularly, when we glance our eye over the Index, where the Lecturer's whole infamy is, as it were, concentrated,* that the reader, without subjecting himself to the labour of travelling through a ponderous volume, may see it at one view; we are given to understand, that he either misquotes, or misinterprets, almost every writing to which he appeals; that he misrepresents the discipline of the Primitive Church, and belies the Church and State of England, as well as the Episcopal Church of Scotland: in one word, that neither the fidelity of his quotations, nor the exactness of his translations from Greek and Latin, nor his application of passages from scripture,

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* Dr. Campbell is accused of misrepresentation, unfairness, &c. at least sixteen times in the Index.

ture, and the writings of the Fathers, can be at all trusted, since he bends, and twists, and tortures, every thing to his own purpose !

Dr. Campbell, who was Principal and Professor of Theology in a University of some name, and had been long a minister of Christ, and was the author of several Works, on which the public voice, both at home and abroad, had bestowed applause, had, it must be acknowledged, *some* character at stake, when he left his last work for publication. Is it natural to suppose, that, when he was just stepping out of the world, he had lost all sensibility to the charms of honest fame ? The desire of leaving such a character behind us, as that our friends shall not be condemned to blush, whenever our names are mentioned in their presence, is a passion that, in most instances, “ is strong “ in death.” The truth is, we all, whether sinners or saints, wish to be remembered for good after we shall be gone hence ; and, if the heart be not in the very last stage of corruption, nothing can add more to the bitterness of death, than the prospect of leaving a name loaded with infamy. Hence I cannot possibly account for the Lecturer’s bequeathing to the world a collection of misquotations, misrepresentations, misinterpretations, lies, and unfounded invectives, so “ gross and palpable to sense,” that even Bishop Skinner and Mr. Daubeny are able to see through them, and hold up the author to public scorn and detestation. You will not allow me to account for this, by referring it to ignorance and stupidity ; for you pay him many high compliments on his genius and learning, and acknowledge your own inferiority to him in those respects ;* an acknowledgment, which, I venture to prophesy, the literary

* Vind. p. 136, 137.

rary world will not be so unpolite as to contradict. Shall we say, then, that the Lectures were the child of his old age, when his faculties were beginning to decline? This would not be true. They were composed when his mental powers were in full vigour; they were reviewed, and improved, from time to time, during a course of years; and they were left by himself for the press. What shall we say, then? Nothing, but to entreat the intelligent and learned reader of your work, to peruse the Lectures with equal candour; and to put *you* in mind, that there is another tribunal, besides that of the learned, at which the Lecturer and you shall soon stand, and where entire justice shall be done to you both.

LETTER XI.

YOU accuse our Professor of still another sort of dishonesty ; I mean, borrowing, without speaking to the owners of the property, or to any body else, a single syllable about the matter. This, in my opinion, is scarcely distinguishable from theft. In reality, it is just what thieves do. They only borrow things, without speaking to any person about it, or acknowledging their obligations to the owners of the property.

The Lecturer's offences of this nature, discovered by you (who, for a reason to be afterwards mentioned, are an excellent thief-catcher) are very numerous ; and some of them, it seems, are very heinous ; for you accuse him of stealing from the *poor*, who have but little to spare ; or, to use your own words, from “ the *meanest* publications, “ which the two last centuries produced against the apostolic institution of Episcopacy.”* “ The *meanest* publications which the two last centuries produced against Episcopacy.”—Such is the character, that you are pleased to

* See Vind. p. 187. taken in connexion with Note, p. 187, 188.

to give of Mr. Anderfon's defence, while you do *us* the honour of calling the author our "*great champion*."*

I am not ashamed to say, that "any church might be "proud" of such a champion. His work displays great learning, by far too much to have been thrown away in refuting the performance of his contemptible antagonist: but it was intended to answer a more important purpose. His reasoning is acute and sound, while at the same time his arguments are couched in terms equally concise and energetic. His language is clear, and never unintelligible, nor ungrammatical, which is more than the Critics have ventured, however much some of them were disposed, to predicate of the language of your *Vindication*. If there be any thing coarse, and uncouth in his manner, it is the fault of the times, and of the country, in which he lived and wrote. Our champion! He is so indeed. And he is a champion, who stands erect in the field of battle, amidst the empty skulls and scattered bones of his contemporary antagonists, and still keeps their descendants in awe. Which of you all has dared to rescue Mr. Rhind from his furious grasp? He sent you many challenges. Who has accepted them? But I beg your pardon. Probably in your dictionary of controversial terms, *mean* signifies *unanswerable*.

I might, if it were worth while, answer the petulant remarks that are made by Mr. Daubeny and you,† upon Dr. Campbell's obligations to other writers, by observing, that similarity of sentiment, and even of arrangement, does not

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* Vind. Note, p. 177.

† Is it not an employment highly reputable to a Primate and an Arch-deacon, to be constantly hunting, like a pair of raw students of divinity, after literary thefts?

always imply plagiarism; and, at any rate, that such remarks are impertinent, unless it be a sufficient refutation of an argument, to say that it has been urged before. But I shall only observe, that, if your head had not been disturbed by the fumes of passion, you would have perceived, that a charge of plagiarism could not come, with a worse grace, from any writer that ever published, than from you, who have borrowed (and much do some of the Critics in alliance with you complain of it) all that is worth notice in your book, and at least a hundred pages more. The Anti-jacobin * comes forward, and claims his own, which he perfectly knows (and well he may!) and he tells the public, that you have taken *all* the controversial part of *his* observations on the "*Lectures*" without leaving out a syllable; which he politely declares, he esteems an honour, of which he is not a little proud: and, to be sure, while the gentleman acted as journeyman to his Primate, humbly presenting his work, that it might receive the last polish from the hand of the *Master*, he was very *honourably* employed. If Dr. Horne, Messrs. Daubeny, Jones, Leslie, and a few more defenders of the sacred hierarchy, were to be as polite as the Anti-jacobin, you would be absolutely beggared by their extreme civility. Perhaps this may be the reason why the *British Critic* tells the world, in his oracular way, that "Bishop Skinner is a writer, of whom *any* church may be "proud." You not only vindicate primitive order, under which "*the disciples had all things in common*," but also endeavour to re-establish it, in these latter days, by the influence of your high example.

* Anti-jac. V. xvii. p. 17.

LETTER XII.



IT may seem too deep a plunge, from the dignity of the high and momentous subjects of Episcopal reprehension, on which we have been descending, to descend to the Lecturer's frequent violations of the established rules of politeness. High Church is particularly well-bred; which is owing, probably, to her attachment to monarchy, and to her being permitted 'to lift up her mitred front in courts and palaces.' It is long since Presbytery had any interference with courts; and, to confess the truth, when it enjoyed that honour, it did not profit by it very much. Hence, if the manners, the *dress* and *address*, of a presbyterian professor of theology near the Ultima Thule, be not such as Lord Chesterfield, the arbiter of politeness, and the great master of ceremonies to the human race, would have pronounced quite unexceptionable, no person of reflection can be much surprized. I acknowledge, however, that ill-breeding, when it breaks forth in "coarse vulgarity of abuse," which you lay to Dr. Campbell's charge repeatedly, is not altogether free from moral turpitude. It proceeds from harshness and insolence of temper; and it is excessively provoking to every man of spirit, especially if he occupy "a high station in the church:" for the *church*

has neither dram nor scruple more of patience, than she *should* have. While, therefore, I humbly express my admiration of the unparalleled good temper and christian courtesy of the Lecturer's Episcopal castigators, I will not presume to offer the least apology for his ill-breeding, unless when I think that the gentlemen, who criticise his Lectures, mistake the irresistible force of his reasoning, the justness of his sentiments, the truth of his statements, and the poignancy of his wit, for "vulgar abuse;" a mistake, into which some controvertists are liable to fall.

The Lecturer remarks,* that Dr. Hickes seems to regret exceedingly, that we have now no such fine words and high sounding titles as "hierophant, hieromyft, myftagogue." This *coarse vulgar* remark I will by no means defend. For what combinations of letters and syllables could have a more commanding and awful sound than Hierophant Skinner, Hieromyft Glegg, Myftagogue Daubeny?—The Lecturer proceeds, in the same *vulgar* strain, to observe, that, in ancient times, some odd spirit or other, no matter what, prompted, in christian pastors, the affectation of epithets added to their names, such as "most holy, most blessed, "most religious, most worthy of God, beloved of God, "reverend, venerable." This is the flash. The tremendous roar comes after. "Yet, such are the manners which, "even in these more enlightened times, the *priestly pride* "of some *prelatical preachers* has instigated them to write "whole volumes to revive." What! No fewer than four opprobrious *prs* hurled at High Church in one short sentence! This is more than any prelatical son of Adam can bear. Accordingly, with a spirit becoming your "high "station in *the church*," you hurl back at the Lecturer a *pr* for

* Vol. I. p. 318.

for every one of his *prs*, and one more for victory. “The
 “*pride of presbytery is much more predominant in these*
 “*prelections, than could have been expected in a profes-*
 “*for.*”* Admirable! But how long did you take to col-
 lect and arrange this charming string of *prs*, so like a neck-
 lace of orient pearls? For my part, I would not undertake
 the task myself, unless I had leisure to read some work be-
 spangled with alliterations, at least as often as Demosthenes
 read the {works of Thucydides; or as our Buchanan read
 those of Livy. I presume it has not cost you so much la-
 bour; for

“Furor arma ministrat.”

The Lecturer is so *unpolite* † as to say of the XXIII^d Article
 of the Church of England, that “it has something the ap-
 “pearance of an identical proposition,” like some of the
 definitions, for which we are indebted to the genius of the
 immortal Sancho Pança. This is a pretty certain proof,
 that he had not had the honour of being much in *good com-*
pany. It is true, indeed, that the Article seems to inform
 us, that it is the sincere belief of the Church of England,
 that “*they are lawfully called, who are called lawfully;*”
 to discover which, does not, I apprehend, require extraor-
 dinary genius.‡ What then? No man of breeding in this
 polite age, would tell the Church of England to her face,
 that one of her Articles appears to say, that “lawful is,
 “just as if a man would say, lawful;” an affront, which
 her “great and good ally” in Scotland *now* finds it her du-
 ty to resent, although she would have laughed at it, hearti-
 ly, in the year of our Lord 1786.

But

* Vind. p. 134, 135.

† Id. p. 167.

‡ The Vindicator, after Mr. Anti-jacobin, calls the remark *in-*
genious and polite.

But the Lecturer does not spare the Church of England on other matters, beside her XXIII^d Article. He *coarsely** denominates the Test Act “a *coarse* implement of human “ policy, to compel a thing so delicate as true religion.”— Now, whatever the framers of that Act expected from the execution of it, it was very wrong in Dr. Campbell so much as to insinuate, that it ever had the effect, which they wished it to produce, that is, the forcing of a thing so delicate as true religion. The History of England, down from the time of Charles II. when the Test Act was passed, to the present year of the vulgar era, does not present to us a single instance, wherein the said Test Act *compelled* any man to be a true christian, or a true Episcopalian, which is the same thing. The Act does, indeed, hold forth a strong temptation to hypocrisy, and the profanation of the Eucharist, the chief end of which it is, as the Lecturer observes, admirably calculated to defeat. But never, say Dr. Campbell what he will, did it *absolutely force* any man to accept a lucrative office at the expence of profaning a sacrament of Christ, and to make an affront to Omniscience a step to promotion.

It is not, I acknowledge, less *uncivil* in the Lecturer, “ to endeavour to establish an *unnatural* association between “ the doctrine of the Church of England, and that of the “ *Westminster Confession of Faith*,” since it is notorious, that the authors of the confession, “ at the very time of com- “ piling it, had sworn the extirpation of Prelacy, with all “ its ecclesiastical officers.”†

In the *articles* quoted by the Lecturer, the confessions of the two hostile churches do, in fact, “ equally avoid limi- “ ting

* Vind. p. 151.

† Id. p. 171.

“ting the christian ministry to one particular model.” But considering the mortal enmity that raged between them, at the time the Westminster Confession was drawn up; to suppose, that Prelacy would degrade itself by agreeing with Presbytery in *any* thing, even the belief and worship of the same God, is an affront to the Church of England; a church, which after a war of more than a century, you now find it more for your interest to flatter than to fight.

I cannot deny, that it is very petulant and ill-bred, to call the attention of the public to the *obsolete* term Nonjurors,* even by saying, that we have now no such men amongst us; for the very mention of the term, Nonjurors, serves the malignant purpose of bringing their former existence to recollection.

The Scotch Episcopal Church had been nonjurant, that is, as hostile to the State, as it still is to the Established Church, for a complete century, or thereabouts. But at last, when it could no longer expect the restoration of *the King over the water*, his Majesty having taken a route very distant from the English Channel, and gone over Styx; it had no objection to accept the good offices of the Establishment “in procuring for it the toleration which it happily enjoys;” wisely considering, that “small fishes are better than no fish at all;” and that, since the prospect of a triumphant re-establishment of Prelacy had completely vanished, it was prudent to take what, probably, might be obtained, the indulgence that is extended to other dissenters. In hope of obtaining this, the Scotch Episcopal Church became quite loyal all at once in spring 1788, and began to pray for the King and royal family with all her might.

* Vind. p. 175, 176.

might. From this short detail, it appears, that your loyalty had been *long* tried by the time that the *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History* were published, for it had continued unshaken for *twelve years* ! Hence the very recollection of the historical fact, that we once had nonjurors, or public and avowed enemies of the existing government, should, before 1800, have been obliterated from the minds of men : and, as the Anti-jacobin, with his usual diffidence and modesty, observes, “ it is likely that it would have been so for ever, but “ for the occasional petulant application of that *obsolete* term “ by the Lecturer.”*

Here, let me remark, how poor spirited a man St. Paul must have been, in comparison of his successor, Bishop Skinner. The apostle saved others the pain of reminding him of the sins of his *unconverted* state, by accusing himself of having been “ a persecutor, a blasphemer, and injurious.” But mark the noble spirit of the Bishop. His church had been nonjurant for a century. But this,—as it had been graciously pleased to be reconciled to George III. must be forgotten in a dozen years ! Let no man dare to bring it to remembrance on pain of an Episcopal, I should say, an Archiepiscopal anathema ! It may be convenient to be accounted an apostle’s successor in office, provided one be exempted from the most laborious and dangerous part of an apostle’s duty ; for it throws a certain air of sacredness and awful authority around the Episcopal character, in the eyes of the vulgar. But to inherit *his mantle*, and to breathe his lowly, mortified, and gentle spirit ;—this was requisite only in primitive and very early times, but would not be commodious in the present day.

If

* Are you not nonjurors still ? at least your clergy ?

If I decline apologizing for the Lecturer's mention of a designation, in which you lately gloried, and even yet think yourselves justified in having deserved, [Cc] you will readily believe, that I shall not make any apology for his calling your church a party.* It is neither a *party*, nor a *part*, but the *whole* of the holy catholic church, that is now left in this land of Sadducees and Pharisees, no other church that I have heard of, so much as pretending to be built on the foundation of the Jewish Priesthood, which was abolished by Jesus Christ, and yet, since Mr. Daubeny and you will have it so, must endure to the end of the world.

I also decline the Lecturer's defence in what regard his use of the term "Prelacy;"† for since in what concerns *terms*, you are as the poet says,

"—— tremblingly alive all o'er,
" And smart and agonize at every pore,"

the Lecturer, who knew this, should have shewn a great deal more tenderness to your feelings, than the Lectures manifest.

It is well known, that the stupid vulgar of this country, like the children of Athens, cry when they are beaten. Nay, they feel pain when they are stabbed, and would rather die in their beds, in the quiet possession of "that liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free," than perish on a gibbet, or at a stake. Hence, this same stupid vulgar, having, in the reigns of the two last of the Stuarts, found Prelacy fully as domineering and cruel as Popery, generally, as you observe, coupled them together, like a pair of blood-hounds as they were, in their ordinary discourse;

[Cc] See Notes.

* Vind. p. 357.

† Id. p. 309.

course; and the figure of speech, with which you find fault, they bequeathed to their posterity; some of whom use it at this day.—I acknowledge, that you fairly turn the chace upon the Lecturer on this subject, by letting him know that, if there be any thing opprobrious in the title Prelate, (prælatuſ) it is as applicable to *him*, who was a Parochial Bishop, as it is to You, who are a Dioceſan and a Primus. And I may add, that the term *Prelate*, if we attend to its etymology only, is as applicable to a king of the Gypsies, to the captain of a piratical ship of war, or the chief of a band of thieves, as to either of you. But I am of opinion, that *good use* does not warrant our calling any of the last named officers a *prelate*. It might be urged in the Lecturer's excuse, that the term is in general use among High Churchmen. But this, I own, does not justify the use of it by a Scottish Professor, who cannot but be aware of the bad company it keeps in the mouths of the Presbyterian vulgar.

LETTER XIII.



I HAVE, in the last nine Epistles, endeavoured to collect the prominent features and lineaments of that portrait of the late Dr. Campbell, which you have thought it necessary, for the defence of the apostolic model of your church, and of the validity of the orders of its ministers, to present to the public.

The French were wont to call the great statesman, who so long administered the affairs of this kingdom in the most difficult and perilous times, *The Monster Pitt*; and by doing so, I suppose their rulers inspired the women and children, and the ignorant vulgar, with the utmost hatred of the illustrious son of Chatham. And, very probably, you may succeed in inspiring the same classes in your own communion, with the utmost hatred of *The Monster Campbell*. I give you joy of this triumph. It will answer fully as well with you, as the refutation of the Lecturer's reasoning, which, although you were capable of it, would not be so well understood by a majority of your people, as personal abuse. With the intelligent, such personal reflections as we have been reviewing, serve only one purpose, that
of

of inspiring a suspicion, that the author is puzzled and perplexed, and finds it necessary to compensate, by the strength of his calumnies, for the weakness of his arguments. But with the ignorant, personal abuse is equivalent to demonstration; for they infer, that it must be a bad *cause*, whose defence is undertaken by a bad *man*; and if you boldly charge with misrepresentation and falsehood, a writer, whom you have painted, before, as a hypocrite, who made his religious profession subservient to his interest, and could make all religious professions sit equally easy on his conscience; you tell your readers no more than a great majority of them were well prepared to believe on your word, without farther enquiry.

In one of the passages,* which, in the course of compilation, you glean from the modern English apostle of High Church, you insinuate, that you would have attacked the *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History* as boldly in the author's life time, if they had been then published, as you have done, now that he is no longer able to defend his character and his work. *Credat Judeus Apella!* It, certainly, will not be believed by those who are acquainted with the writings of you both. To excuse your big looks and great words, (which, by the bye, you were sure your antagonist could not see nor hear) you farther insinuate, that he did not publish his Lectures in his life time;—why? because he had occasion for them as a theological Professor till very near his death, which is the fact? No;—but because he was afraid of a tremendous “recoil” from the champions of High Church. What! He,—Dr. George Campbell,—the author of the *Dissertation on Miracles*,—the author of the *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, and of the *Preliminary Dissertations*

pre-

* Vind. p. 451, et sequ.

prefixed to his *Translation of the Gospels*,—he afraid to encounter High Church, on a subject, which professional duty made it necessary for him to study with care and diligence! *Γνωθι σεαυτον.*

I can scarcely figure to myself a more severe reflection on the Lecturer's character, than the reflection which this last insinuation carries in its bosom. For it in reality says, that Dr. Campbell delivered from his professional chair, to the youth, whose education for the ministry was committed to him, facts and doctrines, which, he was conscious, the learning and penetration of those who oppose them, would prove, to the satisfaction of the world, to be unfounded and erroneous!

After holding up the Lecturer to the contempt and detestation of all good men, you add,* “Far be it from us to say any thing, that could be supposed to detract from the personal worth and purity of morals, which distinguished the character of Dr. Campbell. We know him to have been, in general, as his biographer justly describes him, a man of a mild disposition, and even temper, and who was not much subject to passion.” To confess the truth, you have accused him of nothing but hypocrisy, dishonesty, impiety, lying, and wilful misrepresentation, mutilation of extracts, disguised Popery, (a thing common to him with all Presbyterians) some inclination to infidelity, or at least a great liking to the writings of infidels, and to some of their sentiments,—virulent enmity to the Church of England,—active liberality to your church, while, by restraining the law, and letting loose the press, which was never bound up, he meditated the entire destruction of

M

Scottish

* Vind. p. 448.

Scottish Episcopacy,—indelicacy, by which, I presume, we are to understand *obscenity*,—coarse vulgarity of abuse,—and the instruction of his pupils in false tenets and facts, which he durst not publish to the world, till the shame of detection could not reach him. All these, which compose one of the most infamous and shocking characters that ever disgraced human nature, are, in the opinion of the Head (which, if it be like *other* heads, we may presume, is the oracle) of the Scotch Episcopal Church, perfectly consistent with the highest “personal worth,” and the most unimpeachable “purity of morals,” as well as with “amiable” blenefs of disposition and temper.” May we not draw an inference or two from this? Particularly, may we not infer, without breach of charity, that you consider no crime, which a controvertist may commit in defending his own church, and attacking other churches, to imply a defect in “personal worth and purity of morals?” May we not go a little farther, on safe ground, and express our suspicion, that your conduct in the controversy with Dr. Campbell has been formed on the principle that you here avow? That you do not, in your heart, believe one word of the foul imputations, which in the *necessary* defence of your church, you have cast upon his memory? that, in your quotations from scripture, and the writings of the fathers, and in your interpretation of them, you have had the cause of *truth* as little at heart, as you endeavour to persuade your readers, the Lecturer had? Do not let these questions ruffle the natural smoothness of your temper. They rise, without any force, out of the *tout ensemble* of the character you have been pleased to exhibit to the public of the late Dr. Campbell.

After all, one, who is conversant with the history of the church, and has marked the *spirit* of dignified ecclesiastics, when

when they were contradicted and opposed with firmness, will be surprized, rather that the Lecturer's character has come so well off in this controversy, than that it has been treated as we have seen. For my part, I am astonished, that you have not discovered him to have been unlearned and stupid, to a degree that would disgrace even *Presbytery* itself, as well as guilty of almost all practicable sins as a controversial divine. When we attend to what the patrons of image-worship, in the eighth century, poured forth against the Iconoclast Greek Emperors, we cannot but admire the lenity with which you have administered chastisement to the memory of our Lecturer. For was not he an Iconoclast, as well as Leo the Isaurian, and Constantine Copronymus? Did he not apply the hammer with vigour to *your* image, your most beloved and adored idol, which all men are commanded to fall down and worship;—your ecclesiastical model? And do not you profess to believe *your model* the work of Christ? If you do not believe this, as firmly, at *least*, as the Roman vulgar believe the Veronica to be the identical handkerchief, on which our Lord, in his way to Calvary, imprinted his likeness,—you have, I cannot help saying, a very comfortable portion of that hypocrisy, with which you charge Dr. Campbell.

Now, to bid adieu to the character you give of our Presbyterian Professor, I challenge you to justify, even on the unchristian principle of the *lex talionis*, the account of the Lecturer, which you first give us in the course of your *Vindication*, and which you contradict explicitly at the end. Only point out one single instance of personal abuse, which is to be found from beginning to end of that part of his Lectures, which passes under your review. Do you ask, “What say you of the liberties he takes with the pious and “eminently learned Mr. Dodwell and Dr. Hickes?” I answer,

swer, he takes no liberties at all with the personal characters of those pious and learned men. He calls them neither *hypocrites*, nor *liars*, nor *infidels*, nor *Papists in disguise*; nor does he accuse them of *duplicity*, nor of *rancorous violence*, nor of *obscenity*, nor of *insolent vulgarity of manners*, nor of *teaching to others what they themselves knew to be false*. His remarks are confined to their *tenets* and their *reasoning*, but never so much as glance at their *character*. Dr. Hickes he candidly acquits of bad meaning,* even where he deems his language most unguarded and offensive to pious ears. In his apostrophe to Mr. Dodwell, it was impossible to express indignation against the *tenet*, without reprehending the *man*; a tenet, that needs only to be mentioned, to excite the horror of every benevolent and truly christian mind; — a tenet, which the author of it himself does not pretend to found on the scriptures of truth;—a tenet, utterly abhorrent from every sentiment, which scripture and reason teach us to entertain of the equity and mercy of the Divine Nature, and of the grand purposes of Christ's manifestation

* The Anti-jacobin says, that the Lecturer's candour, or as his biographer expresses it, "his generosity to Dr. Hickes," constitutes "the very sting of the accusation." From this it appears, that the very charity of Presbyterians, which disposes them to acquit High Churchmen of bad meaning, when they express themselves in language, which every sober and rational christian accounts almost blasphemous, is injurious and insolent! If we accuse High Churchmen of impiety, the offence is nothing. We may take what liberties we please with the *hearts*. But we must take no liberties with their *heads*, which must be always considered to be as full of judgment as they can hold! I am curious to know what stuff this Anti-jacobin—this *son of the morning*, who so lately arose on our benighted island, is made of. He places the advocates of the hierarchy *above the candor and charity* of such worms of the earth as Presbyterian Professors of Theology. Who can this be? "This is no being that the earth owns."

tion in the flesh ! Could a person, who judged and felt, as Dr. Campbell judged and felt on the subject of his apostrophe to Mr. Dodwell (and may the numbers of those who so judge and so feel, increase more and more, and may their consolations abound ! could the person who judged and felt like Dr. Campbell) avoid reprehending the daring presumption of the man, who could publish to the world a tenet, which, if it were *really* christian, would drive all rational and good men out of the church of Christ ?

Why did not you imitate the Lecturer's example ? What hindered you to spare his character, and demolish his reasoning ? You have attempted the reverse ; and this affords the strongest presumption, that you considered his reasoning to be " impregnable to argument." And, indeed, every intelligent reader will observe, that almost all your contests with him, on material points, after a few flourishes in the way of contradiction and satire *for the honour of your church*, end in your conceding whatever he demands.

PRESBYTERIAN LETTERS,

ADDRESSED TO

BISHOP SKINNER, &c.

PART II.

COELUM IPSUM PETIMUS STULTITIA.

HOR.



LETTER XIV.

SIR,

THERE are two doctrines, the belief of which it seems to be the grand purpose of your *Vindication of Primitive Truth and Order* to inculcate; First, That no scheme of ecclesiastical polity can conduct christians to salvation, but Diocefan Episcopacy, although you admit, as we have seen, that the Parochial Episcopacy, which obtains in some parishes in the highlands of Scotland, is *Primitive* Episcopacy; and, Secondly, That, to render even Diocefan Episcopacy effectual for the purposes of salvation, it is necessary that the apostolic commission be transmitted through an uninterrupted succession of Bishops, regularly and episcopally baptized and ordained, from the day on which our Lord was taken up to heaven, even unto the end of the world. I have offered a few remarks * on the evidence on which you rest the truth of the *first* of those doctrines, and have taken some notice † of the means you employ to bring discredit on them who oppose it, and your other peculiarities.

As to the *second* doctrine stated above, it is, in one important

* Prelimin. Disc.

† Presbyt. Lett. part I.

portant respect, entirely on a footing with the first ; it is nowhere, in holy writ, “ mentioned in express and positive “ terms ;” which I cannot help thinking a great misfortune to any doctrine claiming to be received as divine. Nay, it is remarkable, that the christian revelation never either explicitly unfolds, or incidentally alludes to, the means, by which a believer may ascertain indubitably, that his Bishop or his parish Priest derives his orders, through an unbroken line of succession, from the apostles of Christ. Hence, although he can, on the brink of eternity, say, with the apostle Paul, “ The time of my departure is at hand : I have “ fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have “ kept the faith,” he dares not, on *your* principles, to draw the conclusion which the apostle drew, “ Henceforth is laid “ up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, “ the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day,” unless his conscience can bear him witness, that, in addition to living in the faith and obedience of the gospel, he has fully ascertained the apostolic origin and canonical derivation of his ministers orders ! And as your hierarchy is formed on the Jewish model, I should think it equally necessary to the faith of assurance in your church, and to the peace of a dying Episcopal, that the said Episcopal has assured himself, by ocular inspection, that his Priest is free from all the blemishes, enumerated Levit. xxi. 16—23, as incapacitating a man for serving at the altar.

Your doctrine of the Episcopal succession implies, that you believe the possibility of tracing your orders, in an uninterrupted line, to the apostles. To this article of your creed, there is, so far as I have heard or read, no parallel on earth, save in Abyssinia alone. The enlightened and highly polished inhabitants of that country think, that they derive their origin from Ham, the son of Noah ; and it is
by

by no means improbable, that they are the descendants of that ancient patriarch. They maintain that, from Ham's time until now, the legal succession of their kings has never been interrupted, (a doctrine much favoured at court) and that the supreme power has always continued in the same family. They thus answer for the incorruptible chastity of all the royal females, that ever sat upon the throne of Abyssinia, as you answer for the immaculate purity of all the wives of the Jewish high priests, from Aaron's time to the dissolution of their ecclesiastical polity. Father Lobo's remark upon this African doctrine is shrewd enough, and it is not altogether inapplicable to the similar doctrine of the Scotch Episcopal Church. "An authentic genealogy traced up so high, could not but be *extremely curious*; and with good reason might the Emperors of Abyssinia boast themselves the most illustrious and ancient family in the world." Father Lobo was, however, of opinion, that there was no possibility of getting possession of such a rare *curiosity* as an *authentic* genealogy traced up so high: for he adds, "But there are no *real grounds* for imagining, that Providence has vouchsafed to *them* so distinguishing a protection; and we have reason to believe, that the succession of the Abyssinian kings, like all other successions, has suffered its revolutions.*

Though your doctrine of the uninterrupted succession of your Bishops from the apostles be not altogether unexampled, being kept in countenance by a like doctrine of the learned antiquaries and genealogists of Abyssinia; yet, so far as I have been able to discover, the connection between this uninterrupted succession of Bishops and the salvation of christians, is an article of faith quite novel in the church; and

* See Lobo's voyage to Abyssinia, translated by Johnson.

and, considering its incomprehensible importance, it is a discovery surprizingly late, in comparison of all the other articles of faith, that have been revealed from heaven to men.

Irenæus and Tertullian did, as you affirm, appeal, in their contests with heretics, to the doctrine received in those churches, which could trace the regular succession of their pastors from the apostles. But for what purpose? Was it to prove, that, in those churches *only* the blessing of Christ accompanied the ministration of his word and ordinances? Not at all. It was to disprove some of those doctrines of heretics, which, though not to be found in the New Testament, the heretics insisted, had been communicated orally, (as in the case referred to on the margin*) by the apostles, to some highly enlightened disciples, whom heretics called the *perfect*. In arguing with such men, what could be more conclusive, than an appeal to the faith of those churches, which were indisputably planted by the apostles, and could shew a list of Bishops in uninterrupted succession from those first ministers of the gospel? Where could the pretended mysteries, of which heretics spake, be so certainly found, as in the churches which could exhibit such lists? If an apostle had any mystery to reveal, which it was not seasonable or fit to communicate to the vulgar in his own age, but yet was necessary to be known in the church, to whom would he rather impart it, than to those men, whom he accounted worthy of being ordained pastors in the churches which he founded? Who were so likely to be of the number of the *perfect*, as they, on whom the apostles, who were discerners of spirits, had laid their hands?

* 2 Thess. ii. 5, 6.

hands? I know not what Marcion, and other mystery-mongers of early times, could have replied to this.

Thus did Irenæus and Tertullian reason with heretics. But that the *stream of succession* alone could convey that authority "to minister in God's word and sacraments," without which it is presumptuous to expect his blessing on his own means of grace;—this is a conceit, which, amidst all his *paradoxes* and errors in opinion, the famous presbyter of Carthage seems never to have once thought of, nor do we know that it ever occurred to the Bishop of Lyons.

Nevertheless, we shall, for argument's sake, admit, that High Church's doctrine upon the subject, is the doctrine of scripture and firmly believed by all the Fathers, paradoxical and not paradoxical. You will not find, that *your* church will gain much by this admission. For, you cannot prove the uninterrupted succession of *your* Bishops from the apostles; and I presume to hope, that I shall be able to point out more than one breach in your succession, in addition to the breach, by the mention of which our deceased *Lecturer on Ecclesiastical History* has brought the dread vengeance of High Church on his memory.

LETTER XV.

YOU seem to think, that if you can trace your lineal succession to the Reformation, and prove, that, from the beginning to that illustrious era, the Church of Rome was a proper channel for transmitting the apostolic commission, you thereby prove, beyond dispute, what you are pleased to call the *validity* of your orders. Here I must differ from you *toto caelo*. I insist, with Father Lobo in the case of the Abyssinian monarchs, on the production of an authentic spiritual genealogy, traced from Peter or Paul, or whomsoever of the apostles you choose to make the first of your ecclesiastical ancestors, down to the Pontificate of Leo X. Not only would this *authentic* genealogy be extremely *curious*; it is absolutely *necessary* for the establishment of the lofty claims which you advance. Why should an appeal to authentic registers, or credible testimony, be less requisite to prove a spiritual extraction, than to prove a person's descent from the man, whose heir he pretends to be? Without such a proof of your descent in the way of natural generation, your laying claim to such a trifling hereditary possession as Aceldama, would expose you to the ridicule of all the world. Do you flatter yourself, then, that,

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though you produce no authentic register, and no proof whatever from testimony, of your *spiritual* descent, by successive generation, from the apostles, we will admit your claim to a monopoly of all the benefits of the gospel covenant? Would not you have reason to regard us with contempt, if we were so simple? I may say, indeed, you tell us as much yourself. For, you inform your readers,* that in 1789, Bishop Seabury of Connecticut, who had, some years before, been consecrated by the Bishops in Scotland, requested his ordainers to procure for him an attested extract of the consecration of the Scotch Bishops in 1661 by a canonical number of the Bishops of England; and that you actually procured it for him, from the register-book of Archbishop Juxon. Why did Bishop Seabury desire this extract? Why did you apply for it at his desire? And for what reason do you publish it in your *Vindication*, that all the world may see it if they please? Why do you publish a long register of your Episcopal ordinations, in the Appendix to the work just named? I can conceive no rational motive for your submitting to all this trouble, and for your increasing the size of your book by the addition of matters, that few readers will think very entertaining, but your conviction of the necessity of producing authentic registers, to prove the canonical derivation of your orders. If it was necessary to prove, in this manner, that you can trace your succession from the present time up to the year after the Restoration, why should it be unnecessary, to prove, in *the like manner*, that you can trace it sixteen centuries higher? What shall fill up the mighty void, in your spiritual genealogy, from the ordination of your "first authors" and predecessors" to the Reformation, or at least to the separation of the English Church from the Church of Rome?

You

* Vind. p. 351.

You can produce no registers. But can you appeal to such testimonies, from age to age, as Tertullian bears to the regular transmission of orders in the Church of Rome from *Peter's episcopate*, to the end of the second century? No; you cannot do even this; which, let me remark, though you could do it, would afford but a lame proof of your uninterrupted succession; for ancient testimonies, concerning the succession of Bishops even in the principal churches, do not always accord with one another; and they say not a word of the Episcopal baptism, and the canonical ordination, of every individual Bishop in the succession. With what is it, that you supply the want of authentic registers, and credible testimony, for nearly sixteen hundred years? What, I may rather ask, *can* supply this want? I know of nothing but supernatural testimony from heaven. But you have not, as yet, pretended to work miracles. In this you differ from the Church of Rome, who advances pretty much the same doctrine with you, respecting the authority which her clergy derive from Episcopal succession; but who, in order to establish it, lays claim to that mark of a true church, which, if her wonders were not all lying wonders, is, of all marks, the most decisive. But without registers, without testimony, without miracles, on which to found your claim, you maintain, as stoutly as the Church of Rome can maintain, that your church is “the gate of heaven,” to all, *at least*, who go from Scotland; for that *your* clergy are the only clergy duly authorized, in all this ill-fated country—ill-fated, indeed, in being so scantily provided in a commodity indispensably necessary to salvation!

But do you rest the credit of your Episcopal succession purely on your own assertion, that *you* are the lineal progeny of the apostles? Oh! no. You *prove* it, by what you
face-

facetiously call "a clear satisfactory train of reasoning."*—a clear satisfactory train of reasoning! Can *any* train of reasoning supersede the necessity of proving facts in the history of man, by that which alone *can* prove them, credible testimony? You may demonstrate *truths* by reasoning. But I never heard that reasoning can prove historical facts; though I know, that, in the course of human affairs, many facts occur, that baffle all reasoning *a priori*, and set even the conjectures of the most profound wisdom at defiance. Surely, you mean to jest with us, when you speak of proving facts by "a clear satisfactory train of reasoning." Yet, as you have nothing but this same train of reasoning, to urge in support of your unbroken succession, it is not absolutely inconceivable, that you urge it seriously, and in good earnest. Let us, at any rate, see what it is. We have it in your extract from Mr. Law's Second Letter to the capital enemy of the principles and practices of the Nonjurors.

* Vind. p. 328.

LETTER XVI.

“ NOW, is it not morally impossible,” says Mr. Law, “ that in our church any one should be made a Bishop, without Episcopal ordination? Is there any possibility of forging orders, or stealing a bishopric by any other stratagem? No: it is morally impossible, because it is an acknowledged doctrine among us, that a Bishop can only be ordained by Bishops. Now as this doctrine must necessarily prevent any one being made a Bishop without Episcopal ordination in our age, so it must have the same effect in every other age as well as ours; and, consequently, it is as reasonable to believe, that the succession of Bishops was not broke, in any age since the apostles, as that it was not broke in our own kingdom within these forty years. For the same doctrine which preserves it forty years, may as well preserve it forty hundred years, if it was equally believed in all that space of time. And that this has been the constant doctrine of the church, we have the most undoubted evidence. We believe the scriptures are not corrupted, because it was always a received doctrine in the church, that they were the standing rule of faith, and because the Providence of God

“ may

“ may well be supposed to preserve such books, as were to
 “ convey to every age the means of salvation. The same
 “ reasons prove the great improbability, that this succeſſion
 “ ſhould ever be broke, both becauſe it was always
 “ againſt a received doctrine to break it, and becauſe we
 “ may juſtly hope the Providence of God would keep up
 “ its own inſtitution.”

This you pronounce * “ a clear ſatisſactory train of reaſoning, by which a deciſive anſwer is at once afforded to all the dark and critical queſtions, that can poſſibly ariſe, even in ſuch a fertile mind as that of our late learned Lecturer, about the import of names and titles, and the authenticity of endleſs genealogies.” Indeed it ſuperſedes the neceſſity of looking into any genealogies at all, endleſs, or not endleſs; of enquiring into any documents whatever; and, above all, of examining their authenticity. It is, in reality, one of the moſt aſtoniſhing inventions that we have heard of; one of the greateſt efforts of human genius, and of moſt extenſive application. It would enable you to write the hiſtory of the church, or of a particular nation, or of all nations, without ſearching a ſingle record, or enquiring for any ancient document of facts of any kind. To call it merely “ a univerſal receipt for writing hiſtory,” would be doing it manifeſt injuſtice. It both furniſhes you with facts, and enables you to dreſs them entirely to your taſte. It is, I may ſay, both caterer and cook. Let me employ it for a month or two, and I will do wonders. In particular, I undertake to prove *clearly* and *ſatisſactorily*, that no man in his ſenſes can believe a word of the accounts we have received of France from 1789 to

* Vind. p. 328.

this moment, and that it *is morally impossible* that its *real history* is such as we have heard.

I can easily guess, what it was that suggested to Mr. Law the idea of the curious and useful invention, whose eulogium I have been attempting to write. It has been a profound contempt, and rooted dislike, of some notorious and well authenticated facts in ecclesiastical history, which are not very compatible with his *succession* scheme.

It may, probably, be accounted "vulgar abuse," if I venture to produce those facts, in opposition to "the clear satisfactory train of reasoning of a writer, whose Letters are incomparable for truth of argument, brightness of wit, and purity of English, and were honoured with the highest approbation at their first appearance, though they be *now forgotten.*" But I am content to bear my share of that burden, which High Church thinks it proper to lay upon all her opponents, and shall, without ceremony, enquire, whether Mr. Law's reasoning be in unison, or at variance, with facts. And for this purpose, let us take a view of his axioms or first principles, about which, I apprehend, every *reasoner* should be somewhat more nice than Mr. Law seems to have been. And,

I. Mr. Law's fundamental axiom appears to be, that Episcopacy, including the necessity of preserving the succession of Bishops, is the ordinance of God: from which he infers, that Providence is as much concerned to preserve *it*, as to preserve the sacred books from corruption.—

That Jesus Christ is as much concerned to preserve the *external form* of "the earthen vessel," as to preserve the *treasure* which it conveys, from one generation of christians to another

another, would be a bold inference from the *divine institution* of Episcopacy, even though the divine institution of that model were proved beyond dispute, which we have endeavoured to shew * is not the case: for in religion, there are things of greater, and things of less importance in the sight of God; † and I cannot think that the external form of the church is of such importance with him as the divine word, of which the church is the depositary. But Mr. Law's inference from a first principle, which, itself, needs to be proved, happens to be contradicted by a fact, which is the object of sense; for we see, that the Scotch Episcopal Church feels, that, in some parts of the christian world, Providence has actually preserved the scriptures, in as great purity as they are enjoyed by Episcopalians, where it has not preserved Episcopacy and the unbroken succession. If I were to adopt Mr. Law's "satisfactory mode of reasoning," I would contend, that Episcopacy cannot be of divine institution, since the scriptures, which are unquestionably the divine word, have been preserved from corruption, while Episcopacy has been greatly disfigured and corrupted, and, in some places, absolutely destroyed.

2. It is a first principle with Mr. Law, that there is "no possibility of forging orders," nor "of stealing a bishopric by any other stratagem." I hope to prove, that "the forging of orders" is certainly within the verge of possibility, and that, if there is any truth in what the scriptures say, ‡ "He that entereth not by the door into the sheep-fold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a *thief* and a robber;" bishoprics *have* been stolen by *various* stratagems.

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3. Mr.

* See Preliminary Discourse.

† See Matthew xxiii. 23.

‡ John x. 1.

3. Mr. Law assumes it as an axiom; nay, he says, “we have the most undoubted evidence, that the doctrine on which the canons respecting ordination is founded, was the constant doctrine of the church, and always equally believed.”

It is to be regretted, that Mr. Law did not favour us with *his* “undoubted evidence” of this fact; for, as I shall produce undoubted evidence of the contrary, we should have witnessed an amusing rencounter. It is also to be regretted, that that gentleman did not think of informing us *at what time, on what occasion, and through whom*, the doctrine, on which the canons relating to ordination are founded, was revealed from heaven, and what church is now the depository of that doctrine. We, who look for revelation nowhere but in the scriptures, can find only a part of the “doctrine” there, and that part only, which is most fatal, as we shall see hereafter, to the pretensions of High Church: and we are much surprized, that in the three epistles to Timothy and Titus, where the apostle had so fair an opportunity of explaining the whole doctrine, on which the canons, relating to ordination, are founded, we find little or nothing upon a subject of such high importance. But the apostle *has overlooked* it, for some reason or other, that we cannot explore at this distance of time.

But the production of Mr. Law’s “undoubted evidence of the *constant belief* of the Catholic Church,” would, by no means, have been sufficient to establish his point. Still it would have been necessary for him to prove that the church uniformly *practised* according to her *belief*, never “holding the truth in unrighteousness,” never, in any instance, violating the canon. It requires, I acknowledge, no ordinary degree of faith, to get over the *improbability*,
that

that the doctrine on which the canons are founded, was generally believed, or even generally known, amidst the gross ignorance and barbarism, that overspread the western church for ages, during which there were many Bishops, and other dignitaries, who could neither read nor write, and were as ignorant of the religion which they were ordained to teach, as modern Bishops are “of the prophecies of Enoch, the seventh from Adam.” But we shall set this consideration aside, and believe, with Mr. Law, as well as we can, that the doctrine respecting the canons was always known, and always the object of faith universally; and proceed to ask, Were, or were not, the canons ever violated in fact? We shall see, by and by, that they were. Probably Mr. Law, and his admirer, the Bishop of Aberdeen, have made it a rule to read no ecclesiastical history, which mentions such violations. But can I believe, that neither of you ever heard of the assumption and exercise of the Pope’s dispensing power? Did you never read of the *Formula, De plenitudine potestatis*, and the clause, *Non obstantibus*, by which his Holiness, whose dispensing power, as Fra Paolo says, could admit of no stain, dissolved all the canons and ecclesiastical constitutions, whensoever, or for whatever purpose, his Holiness thought proper to violate them? If you and Mr. Law were ignorant of this, when you wrote your respective defences of the modest pretensions of High Church, I must say, that you had not gone deep enough in ecclesiastical history, to be able to contend with Bishop Hoadly and Dr. Campbell. The formula “De plenitudine potestatis,” and the Clause, “Non obstantibus,” with which every smatterer in the history of the church is acquainted, knock all “Mr. Law’s clear satisfactory train of reasoning” to pieces at one blow; unless, indeed, you can prove the doctrine of the Church of Rome to be true, that the exercise of the Pope’s dispensing

ing power renders that lawful and canonical, which is, in itself, unlawful and uncanonical: an achievement, which, I presume, you will not attempt.

Perhaps the bare mention of the Pope's dispensing power is a sufficient answer to Mr. Law's whole train of reasoning, in support of the unbroken Episcopal succession. The assumption and frequent exercise of that power are undeniable; and neither you, nor any body else, can prove, that it did not affect the derivation of *your* orders from the apostles. But as you rest the whole evidence, on which you claim to be accounted a modern apostle, on Mr. Law's train of reasoning, and, on the strength of *it* presume to call other men, who are not less apostolic Bishops than yourself, *bold intruders* into the church of Christ, and *unwarranted usurpers*, there may be some propriety in examining particularly, how far Mr. Law's reasoning accords with the most stubborn unbending things in nature: it will readily occur to you, that I mean, FACTS. I shall begin our enquiry, with putting you in mind, in my next, of those canons relating to ordination, which, Mr. Law says, were never violated in any age.

LETTER XVII.

IT is only those canons relating to ordination, which are agreeable to the professed doctrine of your church, to which I think it necessary to call your attention, or, at any rate, to those only, in addition to your favourite canons, that are indisputably scriptural. I trust, then, that I have no reason to apprehend obstinate disagreement between us on the propositions which follow.

1. A Bishop must be ordained by two or three Bishops.
2. Ordination must be performed by imposition of hands.
3. That imposition of hands, by two or three Bishops, may be *valid* ordination, the regular baptism of the person so ordained is absolutely necessary; because a man must be made a christian, before he can be made a christian Bishop. This is perfectly agreeable to the doctrine of your Vindication.* It is agreeable to the practice of your church; for, I suppose, you would not re-baptize heretics and schismatics,

* See p. 99, 100, 101, et sequ.

matics, such as Presbyterians, if you considered them to be christians previously to *your* baptism. It is agreeable to the doctrine and practice of Cyprian. The Nineteenth Canon of the First Council of Nice appoints the Paulianist clergy to be re-baptized, and then ordained. The apostolical Canons are full of the same doctrine ;* and they appoint the Bishop or Presbyter, who does not re-baptize a Priest, that has been polluted by the baptism of the ungodly, to be deprived, because he does not distinguish between *real* Priests and *counterfeit* ones : and they declare, that those who are baptized by heretics, can neither be christians nor clergymen.

4. A disqualification, in a candidate for orders, arising from age, sex, condition in life, faith, or rather want of faith, from personal character, renders that person's ordination to a bishopric null and void. You will not contend, I presume, that imposition of hands, by two or three Bishops, is sufficient to make christian Bishops of women and children, or of atheists, deists, Jews, pagans, Mahometans, or even of christian laymen.

5. A Bishop's election or nomination must be canonical, otherwise his ordination is void. He may, without lawful election, be a bishop *de facto*, that is, he may perform all Episcopal functions ; but he is not a Bishop *de jure*, unless he be duly elected ; and consequently, whatever *power* he may have, he has no *authority*. I should be sorry, for your own sake, if you disputed this. It would betray an inconsistency, by no means honourable to *the character*, to contend, or even admit, that William the Third, and the successors of the deprived Bishops in England, who were rulers,

* See Can. 46, 47, 68.

lers, spiritual and temporal, *de facto*, were also rulers of the church and state *de jure*.

6. There are two sorts of Simony, at least, there are two ecclesiastical crimes, which are so named; both of which, I presume, invalidate ordination, and interrupt the succession. The one consists in purchasing a title to a benefice, or the revenue of a bishopric, with money, or procuring it by flattery, services, or by any infamous means; the other consists in purchasing ordination itself.

I am fully aware, that a benefice is not a spirituality. But it does not hence follow, that the purchase of it is not Simony, and does not render ordination void. By purchasing the benefice, the purchaser buys ordination also, without which he cannot be put in possession of the benefice. A man may be ordained without a benefice, and without a charge, that is, he may be made a nominal Bishop or Presbyter. But in no well-governed church can a person enjoy a benefice without ordination. Hence the purchase of a benefice is virtually the purchase of holy orders.

But some strenuous defenders of the Episcopal succession maintain, that even the direct purchase of ordination itself, is neither Simony, nor an act, that, in any measure, invalidates orders. It was reserved for those profound critics to discover, in these latter times, that, till *they* appeared to enlighten the christian world, all men, in all ages of the church, have been under a gross misapprehension in thinking, that the purchase of orders with money, is the crime that bears the detested name of Simon the forcerer. Nothing can be more sacred than holy orders in the eyes of High Church on *some* occasions, and when she has *some* purposes to serve by exalting them. Upon *other* occasions, when

when *other* purposes are to be served, holy orders are by no means so sacred a thing. They are sometimes the unspeakable gift of Christ,* which no man dares to take to himself. At other times they are scarcely a spirituality, being nothing but a commission to minister in Christ's spiritual kingdom,† which a Bishop or Bishops may give to whom they please, and precisely such another thing as a commission, which the king gives to a common soldier, by which he is made a general, whether he be fit for the office or not. From this, I should think, it follows, that imposition of hands by two or three Bishops, would consecrate Satan himself, and make a christian Bishop of the Great "Accuser of the brethren." And this is the very inference which the writer last referred to on the margin, draws from the premises; only *he* instances in one personage, and I in another; which cannot affect the conclusion, because we have reason to believe, Satan is fully as good a christian, in respect of *faith* ‡ at least, as ever Simon Magus was.—"I have no difficulty in affirming," says he, "that by Judas' ordination" (for, it seems, *one* apostle could do the work of *two* or *three* Bishops!) "Simon Magus would have been as lawful a Bishop, as Hophni and Phineas, sons of Eli, were lawful Priests, or Judas himself a rightful apostle."—What, Sir,—though Simon had *paid* for his ordination, which your mention of Judas as the ordainer seems to imply? Did Jesus Christ place the commission, which he gave to his apostles, on a footing with a licence to retail wine and spirits, by empowering them to set it to sale? How could Judas' ordination have made a person a christian Bishop, who was not a christian man? An atheist, or a deist may, by means of a money transaction, or other corrupt methods, climb up into the sheepfold. Does

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* See Horne's Disc. vol. II. Disc. 6.

† Rebuffer rebuffed, p. 29.

‡ James ii. 19.

it follow that he is a *shepherd of the sheep*, in the scriptural sense of that title, and that he bears Christ's commission? A *wolf* may climb up into a sheepfold. But when or where has it been proved that a wolf, when he gets into a sheepfold, is a shepherd? You speak of the commission given to the apostles, as if Christ had given it so irrecoverably out of his own hands, that it can neither be recalled, nor withheld from any one, to whom two or three Bishops shall agree to entrust it, be the candidate for holy orders of what description, in point of character, he may; be he atheist, deist, hypocrite, forcerer, or whatever you please. If this be found doctrine, it was not without reason that the German Orator proclaimed, that "Christ subjects himself to "Priests, and pays them the strictest obedience."*

It is admitted, that the crime of Simon the forcerer consisted in his offering money to the apostles, not for holy orders, but for, what he esteemed, their magical art of conveying the Holy Ghost to those, on whom they laid their hands. Does it hence follow, that there is no connexion between his crime, and that which we ordinarily call Simony? Does the Holy Ghost take no concern in Episcopal ordinations? I cannot positively assert that he does. But if he do not, I should be glad to know, what your ordination service means, when it says, "Receive "thou the Holy Ghost." By what figure of speech does it call a bare commission to minister in Christ's kingdom, "The Holy Ghost?" Is the use of that figure authorized in scripture? or has any figure similar to it the sanction of good use in other writings? Could we with any propriety say of the commission, by which the King raises a common soldier to the command of an army, that "it is the "King," or "the spirit of the King?" If your ordination

* See Prelim. Disc. Note p. 45.

tion service, at the most solemn and awful part of it, be intelligible, it implies by "Receive thou the Holy Ghost" something more than "Be thou a minister in Christ's spiritual kingdom." What it does, in reality, imply, writers on the side of High Church do not seem to know; and, happily, *we* are not bound to instruct them on the subject. But it must signify the conveyance of some gift or other, that cannot well be likened to the commission to be a general, which the King gives to a common soldier, if, in your ordination service, "the Holy Ghost" import, what that sacred title imports in scripture. There it occurs in two senses, only, so far as I know. It either means the divine Spirit, in whose name we are baptized, or the gifts, both ordinary and extraordinary, which he bestows for enlightening the minds and sanctifying the souls of men, or for proving a divine commission. In neither of these senses can we call a commission to minister in God's word and sacraments "The Holy Ghost." Hence, I apprehend, it is manifest, that, in the mind of the composers of your ordination services, there is a very close connexion between the crime of the forcerer, and that which we call Simony. In truth, the difference between them is not great. Simon Magus desired to purchase the art of conveying the Holy Ghost in his miraculous *χαρισματα*, and Simoniacs attempt to purchase *authority* to convey the Holy Ghost in his ordinary ecclesiastical gifts. Therefore the sentence, which was pronounced on Simon the magician, is the sentence of heaven, under which Simoniacs are laid at this day; "Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the *gift of God can be purchased* with money. "Thou hast neither part nor lot in this," call it "matter," or "word," or "doctrine," as you please: for, since we are assured, that the gift of God *cannot be purchased* with money, it is of no consequence to my argument, whether

εν τω λογω τριτω refer to the Holy Ghost, or to the christian doctrine.—From all this, I apprehend, it is an obvious and undeniable conclusion, that a Simoniac has no “commif-
“ sion from the Spirit, the Vicegerent of Christ.” and that wherever Simony has been practifed, it has interrupted the Epifcopal fucceffion.

It would have been fufficient, in answer to Mr. Law, barely to urge, that Simony is condemned by innumerable canons of the church ; and then to call upon his admirers to fay, whether thofe canons were ever violated by any perfon, who ftands in the line between the prefent clergy of High Church and the apoftles. But I prefume to think that I have done fomewhat more than this, by fhewing, that, if there be a meaning or fenfe in your ordination fervice, Simony, according to a canon, of higher authority than the canons of *all* the general councils from the firft of Nice downward, renders the ordination of the Simoniac abfolutely null and void.—In the mean time, I cordially agree with the writer, whose opinions refpecting Simony, I have been oppofing, that “that crime does not affect the falva-
“ tion of any but the perfons who are guilty of it, and that
“ we have no reason to fear, that millions of innocent peo-
“ ple will be damned for the fecret crime of a few indivi-
“ duals;” * for which, to be fure they are not more account-
table, than you and I are for the idolatry, into which king Solomon was reduced by his wives in his old age.

Let us now appeal to ecclefiaftical hiftory, and fee whether the apoftolical commiffion has been conveyed, from age to age, by rules fo ftrictly canonical, that “the fuc-
“ ceflion of Bifhops has never been broke in any age fince
“ the apoftles.”

LETTER

* Rebuffer rebuffed, p. 24.

LETTER XVIII.

“ IT was *always* a received doctrine in every part of the church, that no ordination was valid, but that of Bishops, and the earliest canons required, that every Bishop should be ordained or consecrated, by two or three Bishops.”*

The apostle Paul † informs us, that Timothy was ordained, and, according to you and Dr. Hammond, ordained either a Diocesan or Metropolitan, not by two or three Bishops, but by *the Presbytery*; and, amidst the vast profusion of deep criticism, which you lavish upon the case of that dignitary, we do not find one authority produced, for calling two or three Bishops, or two or three apostles, *the Presbytery*. You complain, that the Lecturer says, without bringing forward any proof, that, “ all christian antiquity concurs in affixing this name (the presbytery) to what may be called the consistory of a particular church, or the college of its pastors.” But you do not deny the fact; much less do you bring forward any document to disprove

* Vind. p. 326.

† 1 Tim. iv. 14.

disprove it. A writer, who would be thought an idolater of christian antiquity, could not well venture to do either. But look into the Ignatian Epistles, and they will inform you what antiquity meant by *το πρεσβυτεριον*.

If we may trust the *Vindicator of Primitive Truth and Order*, “prophets and teachers” were, in apostolic times, neither more, nor less than Presbyters and Deacons in an Episcopal church. Now, is it not a curious confirmation of the doctrine, which adorns the front of this epistle, that “prophets and teachers,” otherwise presbyters and deacons, were the ordainers, by the express command of the Holy Ghost, of Barnabas and Saul, two of the apostles or first Bishops? * How came it to pass, think *you*, who know all those things, that the Holy Ghost ventured upon such a gross violation of those canons, which are founded on a doctrine, “that was *always* received in *every* part of “the church?” This appears to me to be quite unaccountable, unless we suppose, that the Holy Ghost did not dictate all the doctrines, without exception, which High Church professes to believe, and endeavours to shelter under His authority.

It would appear, that, so late as the age of Gregory Thaumaturgus, ecclesiastics had been so addicted to *irregularity*, that they paid more respect to the example of the Holy Ghost, than to the canons of the church. If we may believe Gregory of Nyssa, it is a fact, that Gregory Thaumaturgus was ordained, not by two or three Bishops laying their hands on him, but by Phedimus, a neighbouring Bishop, who, at the time of the ordination, happened to be at the distance of three days journey from the person ordained.

* Acts xiii. 1, 2, 3.

dained. The truth is, Phedimus dedicated Gregory to the service of God at Neocesarea, by his own solitary prayers, in the absence of Gregory, and without his consent either asked, or given freely, or extorted: and yet Gregory undertook the charge assigned him, without farther ceremony, and performed all the parts of the Episcopal function. The imposition of hands, which you deem essential to the validity of ordination, was, in this case, absolutely impossible, unless Phedimus' hands and arms were three days journey in length, which, as I have not read any thing that throws light on the length of that Bishop's arms, I will not take upon me to assert positively that they were. If, indeed, Gregory had been the ordainer, we could easily have got over this difficulty, without assuming that his arms were quite *half* a day's journey longer than yours or mine: for I have no doubt that the wonder-worker could, at any time, have laid his hands on the head of a person, who was at threescore or fourscore miles distance from him. But of Phedimus' wonder-working, we have heard nothing.

After an ordination, in which almost all the canons were disregarded, I can see no possibility of accounting, on *your* principles, for Gregory's wonderful success in his ministry. If those principles have any foundation in scripture, or in the nature of things, Thaumaturgus might more reasonably have attempted to compel the sun and moon to exchange places, or to raise and lay storms like Macbeth's witches, or to change the circulation of the blood in the human body, by turning it into new channels, as have attempted "to divert the progress of divine grace from the channels appointed for conveying it through the mystical body of Christ," without giving up all hope of prospering in his ministry. And yet, it happened, somehow, that,

that, "though he diverted the progress of divine grace" from its principal channel, the hands of the canonical number of Bishops, he *did* prosper in his ministry: and, though he found only *seventeen* christians in the extensive diocese of Néocesarea, when, without regular ordination, he mounted into the Épiscopal throne, he left no more, as you have kindly put us in mind, than just *seventeen* pagans at his death. "In faith 'twas strange! 'twas passing strange!" and it sets Mr. Law's reasoning and yours, on more subjects than one, in a light truly ridiculous.

But, I suspect that your spiritual progenitors, in this island, were, in early times, fully as regardless of the *universally* received doctrine respecting ordination by Bishops, as ecclesiastics in the East were for the first three centuries; for, when Episcopacy failed in England, in the time of Oswald, king of the Northumbrians, it was restored by Scottish Presbyters.

At what time, or by whom, christianity was first planted in Scotland, and a church organized, it is not easy to ascertain with precision. But of this we are sure, that, in the seventh century, [Dd] a christian church did exist in Scotland, and that, in the island of Hy, now called Icolmkill, there was a monastery, whose founder and first governor was the famous Columba, who came to Scotland in 565, and whose name is now incorporated with that of the island of Hy. This establishment appears to have been a college, where clergy were educated for the sacred ministry. Accordingly we hear of three Bishops, whom it furnished to the kingdom of the Northumbrians, which then, as we learn from Usher, comprehended the Scottish

territory to the south of the Firth, and twenty shires in England. Bede informs us * of a curious circumstance relating to the high authority of this seminary. Its principal, or rector, as the historian calls him, was only a presbyter Abbot; and yet the whole province, and *even the Bishops* themselves, were subject to his jurisdiction. Bede calls this an unusual order (*ordine inusitato*) which indicates that he knew nothing similar to it, any where, in his own time. What he means by the whole province (*omnis provincia*) is somewhat doubtful. It seems to be explained at the end of the preceding chapter, where the historian speaks of the jurisdiction of the monastery of Hy, as extending over almost all the monasteries and all the people of the northern Scots, and the whole Pictish nation.† Our ecclesiastical historian ‡ explains Bede's *Northern Scots* as "having included the *people* in the north of Ireland, and the "north-west parts of Britain." But, unfortunately, he had forgotten, that, on another occasion,|| when he had a particular purpose to serve, very different from victory in his contest with Usher, he had confined the jurisdiction of the monastery of Hy to all the *monasteries* only of Columba's foundation, either in Britain or Ireland, excluding the *people* altogether. But this will not do. Bede expressly declares, in the passage last referred to, that the jurisdiction of Hy extended over the *people*, as well as the monasteries, among almost all the northern Scots and all the Picts. [Ee]

That "*province*"—means the charge either of an Archbishop or a Diocesan, cannot be supposed, for the word
never

* Lib. iii. c. 4.

† Id. c. 3.

‡ Skinner's Letters, &c. v. I. p. 108.

|| Id. v. I. p. 96. 97,

never occurs in this acceptation in Bede's history, and there were neither provinces, in the modern ecclesiastical signification of the word, nor dioceses, in Scotland, for several centuries after the mission of Aidanus to England. A Bishop's charge was his *parish* in those days, as you, and your ingenious relative explicitly admit.*]

I think it undeniable that, by the *ipsi etiam episcopi*, who, according to Bede, were subject to the jurisdiction of the Presbyter Abbot of Hy, the historian means the Bishops of most of the northern Scots, and of all the Picts, because he expressly says, as we have seen, that the monastery of Hy presided in the government, not only of the monasteries of almost all the northern Scots, and of the whole Pictish nation, but also in the government of the *people*. I cannot admit, that by *ipsi etiam episcopi of the whole province*, Bede meant a succession of Bishops, one after another, who had the charge of "the whole province, where Columba had "employed his labours," and which, according to Mr. Skinner, included the northern Scots and Picts, and the people in the north of Ireland. This would have made by far too large a parish for a Bishop, in the days of the reign of the monastery of Hy. But what if we were to admit what the author just named contends for? What would it avail in support of the divine origin of proper Episcopacy, and in illustration of your unbroken succession? It proves nothing, but only that eleven centuries ago, Bishops in Scotland were so far from being the *highest* order of ecclesiastics, that, in one district, they were subject to a Presbyter Monk. May we not thence very warrantably infer, that they did not *ordain* Presbyter Monks, but were ordained by them, if it be, as an apostle says it is, "beyond all

* See Prelim. Disc. p. 98.

“contradiction, that the *less* is blessed of the *better*?”— Why does Mr. Skinner call the relation, by Bede, of a fact, which is not disputed, (why does he call it) “a *humiliating observation*?”* Moses also makes “a *humiliating observation*,” when he tells us, that God created man out of the dust of the earth, and that this same lordly animal, who, in some instances, rises to the Episcopate, must return to the dust again, and be *subject to the jurisdiction* of worms, who pay no more respect to the carcase of a Bishop, than to that of a Presbyter. I wish that both “observations,” which, to be sure, are sufficiently “*humiliating*,” may have a proper effect, in mortifying the excessive pride of Episcopacy, which is always giving disgust to sincere christians, by talking incessantly about the different ranks and degrees, the superiority and inferiority of the different servants of the lowly Jesus, the poor uninspired successors of the fishermen of Galilee,—and can so ill bear the relation of *humiliating* facts, that, when it dare not contradict them, it attempts, by jesuitical quibbling, and a sufficient number of gratuitous assumptions, to strip them of all sense and meaning. To reason, as Mr. Skinner does in the case before us, from Bede’s principles as an Episcopalian, is to acknowledge, in terms sufficiently plain, that an Episcopalian is not to be trusted as a relater of facts, if they happen to militate against his principles; and that if he do relate a fact that bears hard upon the pretensions of Episcopacy, it is, we may be sure, what he did not intend. It was obliging in our modern ecclesiastical historian, to give us this hint: it will prevent our giving too ready belief to all *his relations of facts*, before we first examine his authorities.

But

* Letters on Eccl. Hist. of Scotland, v. I. p. 97.

But, for my part, I can see no *humiliation* whatever in the subjection of Bishops to a Presbyter; for, in the seventh century, Presbyters in Scotland *made* Bishops: and can it be any degradation to a *creature* to be subject to his *Creator*? Does not Bede expressly say,* that Aidanus, who was sent to England at the request of king Oswald, was a Presbyter Monk, whom a *conventus seniorum*, (call them Monks, or call them Parochial Bishops, or Scotch Highland Ministers, as you please) ordained a Bishop? What can *conventus seniorum* mean, but a synod of Presbyters? How would you translate *πρεσβυτεροι* into Latin, but by *seniores*, or *majores natu*, both which expressions are used by Bede, in speaking of those ecclesiastics in Scotland, to whom Oswald applied for a Bishop? When he speaks of a Bishop, that is, a person who has the charge of a flock, he calls him either *Antistes*, or *Episcopus*, or *Pontifex*, but never *Senior*, or *Major Natu*; and a Bishop's degree he calls *Episcopatus* and *Pontificatus*, but no where designates it by a word, that has any connexion with Presbyter. Is it for a *Senior* or a *Major Natu* that he says Oswald sent to the *Seniores* or *Majores Natu* in Scotland, that the nation which he governed, might learn the christian faith from him, and receive the sacraments? No—his request was, “*ut sibi mitteretur antistes.*”† Was not Aidanus, *before* his consecration, (if you please to call it by that name) a member of the *conventus seniorum*, [Ff] which met to deliberate on Oswald's message? Was he not a speaker on the occasion? If he had not been one of the *seniores* *before* his assignation to the English mission, how could he have dared to open his mouth in a *conventus seniorum*? Did not his explanation of the causes, which had rendered a former mission unsuccessful, draw the eyes of the whole assembly upon him,

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and

* Lib. iii. c. 5.

† Lib. iii. c. 3.

[Ff] See Notes.

and impress them so deeply with a conviction of his singular fitness for the mission, that they immediately appointed him to it, and ordained him an *Antistes*? “*Quo audito,*” says Bede,* “*omnium qui confedebant ora et oculi conver-*“*si diligenter quid diceret discutiebant, et ipsum esse dig-*“*num episcopatu, ipsum ad erudiendos incredulos et indoc-*“*tos mitti debere decernunt; qui gratiâ discretionis, quæ*“*virtutum mater est, ante omnia probatur imbutus, sic-*“*que illum ordinantes ad prædicandum miserunt.”*

I shall not pretend to say, what a writer of Bede’s “principles intended” in this passage. But, if it do not mean, that the same assembly of presbyters, who pronounced Aidanus worthy of the Episcopate and of the mission to England, ordained him also, Bede’s five books of ecclesiastical history are of much the same use to us, as a volume of blank paper of the same size would be; with this difference, that the latter could be applied to some purpose of utility to a man of study, whereas the former would be fit only for the pastry-cook.

But suppose our Venerable Historian’s relation of the transaction before us to be so loose and inaccurate, that we can collect nothing from it with certainty, but that Aidanus was ordained a Bishop previously to his being sent to England; still you must admit, that the orders of the Church of England in the seventh century were derived, not from Diocesan, but from Parochial, Bishops; Dioceses, and consequently Diocesan Prelates, being utterly unknown in Scotland at the time.† Wherein then, I beg leave to
ask,

* Lib. iii. 5.

† There were no dioceses in Scotland, till the time of Malcolm H. about the beginning of the eleventh century, and, consequently

ask, consists the difference between the orders, which the English derived from the Scottish *Antistites*, which were sent thither by the Monastery of Hy, and those orders, which a class of Parochial Bishops in Scotland, especially in the highlands, confers at the ordination of a minister?—They were, unquestionably, Parochial Bishops themselves; and what they had not received, they could not convey to others. If there be any material difference between the ordinations of Aidanus, from the time he went to England, till twelve days after the death of King Oswald (when Aidanus died also) and the orders conferred by the present establishment in Scotland, it is manifestly in favour of the latter. Our ordinations are all performed by a class of Bishops, consisting of perhaps twenty or more, but never of fewer than three. But who assisted Aidanus, at his first consecration of a Northumbrian Bishop? His Presbyters? Where could he have got other coadjutors?* If he had none other, was such consecration canonical, and a proper channel for the conveyance of the apostolical commission? Quite sufficient in *my* opinion. But you maintain the reverse; and your church must take the consequences.

Thus we see how untrue it is, that “every Bishop, since the days of the apostles, has been ordained by two or three” Diocesan “Bishops.”

LETTER

no Diocesan Bishops. This is not denied by Mr. Skinner, our ecclesiastical historian, though, as usual, he endeavours to give such an explanation of it, as seems to him to suit his own purpose. Vol. I. p. 212, et sequ.

* Aidanus' consecrations, with the assistance only of his Presbyters, were, in so far, as good as those of the apostles, who do not seem to have convened the canonical number, at *all* their consecrations of primitive Bishops; and they were also on a footing with those of Timothy and Titus, in Ephesus and Crete: so that they would do.

LETTER XIX.

EVERY Bishop must be ordained by imposition of hands, without which your church "knows no right, that any one can have, to be called a Prelate in the church,"* that is, I suppose, his ordination is null and void.

This rite has the sanction of apostolic practice. Indeed, in the very times of the apostles, imposition of hands was a periphrasis for ordination, as it appears from 1 Tim. v 22. But, was it uniformly practised in the earliest ages? And has the doctrine, on which the canons relating to it were founded, been the *constant* doctrine of the church? There is no doctrine, of which the necessity of imposition of hands at ordination is the subject, to be found in scripture, although the New Testament furnishes many examples of the practice. But were the apostles ordained by imposition of hands? The several histories of the ordination of the twelve, which we find in the four gospels, give

* Skinner's Eccl. Hist. v. I. p. 414, Vindic. p. 181, 182.

give us no account of the performance of this *sine quâ non*, though we are particularly informed, that “ Barnabas and “ Saul were separated for the work whereunto they were “ called, by fasting and prayer, and the imposition of “ hands.”* Was Ignatius, the Bishop of Antioch, ordained by the laying on of hands? Dr. Wake seems to doubt of it much.† We have seen that Gregory Thaumaturgus was not ordained to the charge of the *seventeen* by imposition of hands, no more than by two or three Bishops, and consequently was never ordained. Frumentius was the apostle of the Indians; and it was not till *after* he had been employed in converting them, that Athanasius ordained him. The king of the Iberians was employed, with success, in the conversion of his subjects, before he was so much as baptized; and his history does not say that ever he was ordained ‡ Olaus Frigueson, king of Norway, first converted his own subjects, and then fitted out ships, and went on board, with a sufficient number of learned men and disciplined troops, and, in the apostolic circumnavigation, converted a great number of his pagan allies and dependents, without ever thinking of being ordained by imposition of hands.||

I shall leave it to Gregory Thaumaturgus, Frumentius, his Majesty the king of the Iberians, and his Majesty Olaus Frigueson, king of Norway, to give their several answers, in person, to the following pertinent questions, when the Primate of Scotland and they shall chance to meet. “ The meat, which the church is to receive from its rulers
“ and

* Acts xiii. 2, 3.

† Ep. ad. Edit. p. 44.

‡ See Burnett's XXXIX Articles, Art. XXIII.

|| Barry's History of the Orkney Islands.

“ and stewards, is the word of life, or the means of grace
 “ and falvation, which are called God’s *mysterics*, being
 “ that myftical provifion, which he has laid up in ftore,
 “ to be regularly dealt out for the fpiritual health and
 “ ftrength of his faithful people. Who, then, can have
 “ any power to diftribute this provifion, but thofe to whom
 “ he has given authority for that purpofe? Who can pre-
 “ tend to meddle with the myfterics of God, or to admi-
 “ nifter the bleffings of his holy and venerable facraments,
 “ without a fufficient warrant for fo doing,”* that is, with-
 out impofition of hands by two or three Bifhops.

But not only has impofition of hands been frequently difpenfed with in practice. The doctrine of its indifpenfable neceffity has not been the conftant doctrine of the church. We learn from Fra Paolo, in his *History of the Council of Trent*, that Gregory IX. calls impofition of hands a rite “ brought in,” in other words, “ a rite added
 “ to thofe institutions, which have the fanktion of divine
 “ prefcription:” and he mentions, that the famous canonifts, Hortienfis, Joannes Andreas, Abbas, and others, affirm that the Pope may ordain a Prieft with thefe words, “ Be thou a Prieft.” He quotes alfo Innocent IV. the Father of the canon law, and the beft civilian of his age, as teaching, that, if the *forms* had not been *invented*, it had been fufficient if the ordainer had faid, “ Be thou a Prieft,” or fome other words of the “ like import.” Fra Paolo oppofes this doctrine, and I do not defend it. But it was at one period, the doctrine of the moft learned canonifts. And that the *practice* of the Western Church was fuitable to it, while it was in vogue, is as probable, as that it was acted

* Vind. p. 100, 101.

acted upon, in the middle of the third century, by such ecclesiastics as Phedimus, and Gregory of Neocesarea.

Hence, if imposition of hands be so essential to the validity of ordination, that, "in strict propriety of speech," the luminaries of your church "know no right that any one can have to be called a Prelate of the church without it," I am afraid your succession has suffered many breaches, not one of which can be repaired till the resurrection.

LETTER XX.

I MENTIONED that Episcopal Baptism is a necessary requisite to ordination. Without it, a man is not in your account, a christian, and, therefore, while he remains unbaptized, cannot be made a christian Bishop.

I shall have occasion afterwards, to mention, by name, some of your spiritual progenitors, who never received the sacrament of baptism, from “men who had a right to meddle with the mysteries of God, and were warranted to administer the blessings of his holy and venerable sacraments.” It is more than probable, however, that long before these times, your succession had suffered interruption from the invalid baptism of many of your “authors and predecessors.” We do not certainly know, that any of the twelve apostles, who were first called, were ever baptized. But we certainly know, that Saul of Tarsus received nothing but lay-baptism; for, if we may give more credit to the sacred historian, than to the advocates of the hierarchy (which I think not very unreasonable) Ananias was neither Prelate, nor Presbyter authorized by a Prelate, but “a certain disciple” of that name. If you say that the authority of the Spirit, under which Ananias acted, when he baptized Paul, was fully equal to Episcopal authority,

if

if not higher, I agree with you. But still it was not Episcopal authority; for the man was not in orders. [Gg] Hence, if you derive your apostolic authority from Paul, through Linus, or Clemens, which is not the most improbable of all suppositions; your orders are, upon your own principles, uncanonical in their very fountain: for Paul was never baptized; therefore he was no High Churchman, and consequently, as we have it from very high authority,* “no churchman at all.” Besides, the Church of Rome, and the Church of England too, have been long in the practice of sustaining, in certain cases, the validity of baptism by midwives. Have midwives *authority* to administer the sacraments of Christ? Tertullian says,† that *anybody* may baptize, when a clergyman is not at hand. But I beg your pardon. Tertullian was a *paradoxical Father*, unless where his principles agree with those of High Church. Yet your mother Church of England is fully *as* paradoxical in sustaining the validity of baptism by midwives. What say you to this? Is the Church of England in the right? Unless you have sacrificed some of your distinguishing principles to the treaty of friendship, into which you have lately entered with that church, you must maintain, that baptism by midwives, or any of the laity, male or female, is *not valid*, and that it leaves the person, to whom it is administered, as much a Jew or a Pagan, as it finds him. Can you then prove, that none of your ecclesiastical ancestors were introduced, first into the world, and then into the kingdom of heaven, by female professors of the obstetric art? There is only one way of proving this, which you have, as yet, obstinately declined; I mean, the production of baptismal registers, of indisputable authenticity, from the apostolic age down to the present times.

LETTER

[Gg] See Notes.

* Dr. Horsley.

† De Baptisma.

LETTER XXI.

BESIDES the radical defect of uncanonical baptism, there may be other incapacities or disqualifications in the person ordained, which render his orders invalid. He may not, for example, be of the canonical age; in which case, if the canons be founded in scripture, or the principles of reason and common sense, he is unfit to continue the succession.

How old was Hugh, the son of Count Herbert, when his father procured his exaltation to the archiepiscopal See of Rheims? Just five years of age;* and yet his election was confirmed by the *infallible* Pope John X. If Hugh was an apostolic Bishop, I suppose no body will dispute the legality and propriety of Caligula's appointment of his favourite horse to the Consulship at Rome. Whether the venerable Archbishop Hugh was ordained, and began to perform his archiepiscopal functions, "or administer the blessings of the holy and venerable sacraments," before his Grace was thought by *Madame la Comtesse*, his mamma, to be

* Hodoardi Hist. Rem. Lib. iv. c. 20.

be quite fit for quitting the nursery; or whether the Pope, *de plenitudine potestatis*, permitted his Grace to enjoy the revenues of his See in the nursery, and allowed another, such as the Arch-priest of the church of Rheims, to perform the functions, in quality of his Grace's Lieutenant; and among other things, to ordain, I will not positively say; only, to use Mr. Skinner's language on a like occasion, "I have seen no account of his ordination by imposition of hands," till after he was first expelled from his See, and then restored in his eighteenth year, which, from every account that I have heard, is rather below the canonical age.

John XI. the bastard of a former Pope, was placed in the chair of St. Peter, before he was *twenty* years of age. Benedict IX. was made Pope at the age of *eleven*, according to some, and of *eighteen*, according to others. This is the *holy Father*, whom Victor III. one of his successors, styles the successor of Simon the Sorcerer, not of Simon the apostle:* and, if it had been agreeable to him, he might have said the same thing of the very next Vicar of Jesus Christ, Gregory VI. who bought the Popedom from Benedict, the illustrious successor of the magician.

It were endless to mention, by name, all the striplings, the *adolescentuli*, as Baronius indignantly calls them, who were, at different periods of the Romish hierarchy, and in all the western nations of Europe, thrust into the highest seats in the church. I cannot, however, pass over two instances, which occurred in our own country, and so lately as the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Duke of Ross, a younger brother of King James IV. and Alex-

P

ander

* Desider. Dialog. Lib. iii.

ander Stuart, James' natural son, were successively nominated to the Archbishopric of St. Andrews, the former before he was twenty, the latter when he was fourteen years of age.* Mr Skinner observes,† that. “it would have been better to have left the See vacant, all the time that those youths enjoyed it, than for the Pope to give his approbation to two appointments, which have the sanction of no old canon, and of no laudable precedent.” Very right, Mr. Skinner. But, unfortunately for the canonical derivation of the orders of your church from the apostles, the Popes did many things not in the least degree more regular.

* I do not know the character of the Duke of Ross. But, if we may give credit to Erasmus, in Adagio, *Spartam nactus es, hunc orna*, Alexander was superior, in every thing but years, to the greater number of the Prelates of that age.

† Lett. Eccles. Hist. vol. I. p. 414.

LETTER XXII.

ONE may be incapacitated by one's sex, as well as by one's age, for ordination to a Bishopric; and it is not beyond the bounds of rational belief, that you have some female "authors and predecessors" between you and the apostles.

It is a canon of the New Testament,* that women shall not be ordained ecclesiastics of such an order, as entitles them to speak in the churches. Yet there are at least fifty Latin authors, including Platina, and some Greeks, who relate, that a Lady, most of them say of English extraction, of the name of Jollana, or Joan, did slip, somehow, into the chair of St. Peter, and occupied it till she was brought to bed. What effect this remarkable event had, during the two years, five months, and four days, that Joan filled the Papal See, on the *stream of succession*, in so far as the

* 1 Cor. xiv. 34. This, by the bye, shews that Deacons were never intended by the apostles to be preachers.—If they had, *Deaconesses* would not have been prohibited, as they are in this passage, to preach.

validity of your orders is concerned, I do not know, and I presume, you are alike ignorant. For ought any body, now alive, can tell, the crozier may have descended to our Scottish Primus, from a hand, which nature and the New Testament appointed to hold no staff but the distaff.

I am perfectly aware of the fact (that Joan succeeded St. Peter) being disputed. It would be strange if it were not, in the Church of Rome, which conceals, or denies, or expunges from all records under her controul, what she does not choose to acknowledge. I am aware, also, that some Protestants have submitted to the labour of investigating the evidence, on which the truth of this curious fact rests; and have expressed themselves dissatisfied with it.— Yet Fra Paolo, one of the most learned and intelligent Roman Catholic writers of his own or any other age, acknowledges,* that it has never been disproved, and says, that though he is disposed to believe it false, it is not on account of its absurdity, that age (the middle of the ninth century) producing things as extraordinary as a lady being Pope.— That the thing was possible at that time, no body pretends to deny. Nay, it is believed to be not altogether unparalleled. It is said, and generally credited, that there was once a woman in possession of the patriarchal See of Constantinople. The *possibility* of this fact, Leo IX. in an epistle † to Michael of Constantinople, though in civility to the patriarch, he affects to disbelieve the fact itself, imputes to the practice long in use at New Rome (a practice sanctioned by the apostolical canons‡) of promoting eunuchs to the patriarchal See.—And if the story of the Popes be not true, why have all succeeding Popes, in their solemn procession to the Church of Lateran, carefully avoided the street

* Letter quoted, Note Eccles. Bon. c. 19.

† Ep. I.

‡ Canon XXI.

street between Nero's Coloffus and St Clement's, where her Holinefs is faid to have died in childbirth? and what is the meaning of that part of the ceremony at the Pope's installation, on performing which, the youngeft Deacon cries aloud, *Mas nobis dominus eft*? It is afferted, and fo far as I can learn, it is not denied, that a marble ftatue, representing a woman and a child, was erected near the place where Joan died, in deteftation, it is faid, of a fact fo monftrous, as that of a Pope bearing a baftard child in the ftreet. That there was a ftatue of Joan, in the cathedral of Sienna, with this infcription, "Joan VIII. an Englifh woman," which, at the request of Cardinal Tarugi, who applied to the Grand Duke, was altered, to fuit the features of Pope Zachary, feems to be proved by Page,* who gives an amufing account of the profound fecrefy, by which all his enquiries, about the Popes' ftatue, were refifted in 1677, by all the ecclefiastics at Sienna, excepting one old prebendary. That the writers, who were contemporary with Joan, do not, in the editions of their works which *we* have, mention her pontificate, does not difprove the fact. There *was* a ftatue of a woman and child, to be feen in the place where Joan was faid to die in child birth, fo lately as 1413. At any rate, the ftory of the fhe Pope is of *Pepifh* origin, not of *Proteftant* manufacture; and no account has yet been given of its origin, that can be called, in any meafure, rational, but on the fuppofition that is true. That it was poffible, as I obferved before, no perfon can deny. And if the impofition of Joan was quite practicable, who would rifque any thing the moft trifling, not to fpeak of the falvation of his foul, on what Mr. Law and you would call the *moral impoffibility* of—women "profaning," at one time or other, during the lapse of fifteen centuries, all the Epifcopal thrones in the Weft of Europe?

LETTER XXIII.

EVERY person, who is acquainted with the history of the church, knows that several Popes, and other Bishops, were strongly suspected of disbelieving the christian religion, and even of atheism. Indeed the flagitious lives of many of them afford the strongest grounds of suspicion. But we have something more than suspicion to build on. Picus of Mirandula * speaks of a Pope, who was ordained, and received as a true Pope, and yet confessed to some of his domestics (so honourable did he think atheism to his character !) while he was in the papal chair, that he believed in no God. The same writer speaks of another Pope, who owned, to an intimate friend, that he did not believe the soul of man to be immortal. Can we have any doubt, that when atheism and infidelity occupied the chair of St. Peter, soundness of faith would not be the very highest recommendation that candidates for bishoprics could carry with them to Rome in quest of preferment ? When the church was so grossly corrupt, that an atheist was placed at the head of it, what opinion have we ground to entertain
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* Theor. 4.

of the religious principles of Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops? In the luxurious court of Leo X. who, as well as some other holy Fathers, is charged with shocking impiety, and even atheism, and who threatened with excommunication all who should find fault with Ariosto's Orlando Furioso, and delighted in the company of none so much, as that of poets who lived by their wits, of mimics, and of buffoons, (in the luxurious dissipated court of such a spiritual prince) what respect and veneration were likely to be paid to the religion of the lowly Galilean? Can we be accused of uncharitableness, if we are not very backward to believe, that Leo was in reality, the author of the famous reflection, attributed to him, about the *profitableness* of the *fable* of Christ, and that he well knew, that it would be relished by the hearers?

An author,* to whom I have had occasion repeatedly to refer, thinks, that Christ's commission to his apostles may be bought and sold without injury to its validity. But will any of that author's disciples and admirers deny, that infidelity is a disqualification, that absolutely bars the possibility of ordaining a person a christian Bishop? To be sure, an infidel may become a christian, as you observe, in a passage to be taken notice of afterwards. But while he remains an infidel, you will find it as impossible to make him a christian Bishop, by any *manual* operation, or any liturgical forms, as to convert a wolf into a sheep by the same means. Do, tell me in sober seriousness, what you think of an infallible atheist? Of a man who was the sole judge of all christian truth, and yet believed none of the truths of Christianity, not even the existence of God? Did ordina-

* Rebuffer Rebuffed.

tion make this man a christian Bishop, and a true successor of St. Peter? When reason and common sense shall be utterly extinguished among men, probably they may believe that an atheist or a deist, so soon as it is said to him, amid prayers and imposition of hands, "Receive thou the Holy Ghost," becomes a christian Bishop,—and that, though he does not believe that ever Christ gave a commission to his apostles, he is yet an unexceptionable depositary of that commission, and can transmit it to others!

LETTER XXIV.

A CANDIDATE for a Bishopric may be disqualified for consecration by his situation in society; and in case of such disqualification, imposition of hands by two or three Bishops does not make him the depositary of the apostolic commission. A layman, for instance, cannot, without violation of the canons, be ordained a Bishop, without first going through the inferior ecclesiastical degrees. Yet, of the enormous irregularity of raising laymen, *per saltum*, as it was expressed in ancient times, to the Episcopate, a multitude of instances occur in the history of the church.

When Constantine, the Antipope, was compelled to yield the apostolic chair to Stephen III. in 768, and was dragged before a Council in the Lateran, (his eyes having been mercifully torn out, that he might be exempted from the pain of seeing his successful competitor) he was sternly asked, why he, a layman, had dared, in defiance of the *laws of the church*, to accept ordination as a Bishop. Constantine answered, that of such ordinations there were many

ny examples in the church ; of which he mentioned, particularly, the cases of Sergius of Ravenna, and Stephen of Naples, who of laymen were ordained metropolitans in the late pontificate. If pain and fear had not confounded his recollection, he might have mentioned many more instances of the same gross irregularity, and produced a multiplicity of examples of men, who were consecrated *high* Priests without being Priests. He might have named Cyprian, “ the apostle of High Church,” who, according to Pontius his biographer, was only what was called a Neophyte, or one newly converted and baptized, when he was elected and ordained Bishop of Carthage ; and Nectarius, whom the second general council appointed to succeed Gregory Nazianzen, in the See of Constantinople ;* and Philogonius, who was, without ceremony, taken from the bench, on which he sat as a lay-judge, and placed on the Episcopal throne of Antioch ; † nay, and as great a saint as any of them, Ambrose of Milan, who was elected Bishop before he was baptized, and ordained a few days after. ‡ — No person who is conversant with ecclesiastical history, needs to be informed, that, *after* the time of Constantine (the Antipope) such transgressions of the canons occurred frequently. Some of them were shockingly flagrant. — Princes conferred benefices on the rude and barbarous soldiers, who had served them bravely in war, || thus bringing back *beneficia* to their original destination ; and it is well known, that Popes raised some of their menial servants, and some whom they favoured for reasons the most infamous and shocking, [Hh] to high dignities in the church, by

* Socrates.

† Chrysost. Hom. 31. de Philog.

‡ Paulin. Vit. Ambrose.

|| Fr. Paolo. Eccl. Ben. c. 19.

by their mere *fiat*. Those spiritual monarchs could do any thing that human power can effect; and they did whatever they pleased, without regard to “old canons, or laudable “precedents,” to religion, or to common decency.

Nor are there wanting instances of Popes themselves, the visible heads of the church, and the great dispensers, for ages, of ecclesiastical authority in the west of Europe, having been raised to the chair of St. Peter, without having been previously in orders, and becoming the great High Priests of the christian world, without having been either Priests or Deacons. Thus did John XIX. for example, climb into the sheepfold by the help of a little money—being neither Priest nor Deacon, but a very unworthy layman, when he procured his election.

LETTER XXV.

A BISHOP'S *election* or *nomination* must be canonical, otherwise, I apprehend, his ordination is null and void; he acquires no Episcopal authority, and therefore can transmit none to others.

Writers of High Church are very careful, in season and out of season, to put us in mind of the apostolic declaration,* “No man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron: so also Christ glorified not himself to be made an High Priest, but he that said unto him, Thou art my Son, to-day have I begotten thee.”

From this declaration, I must beg leave to draw an inference, which, so far as I have had occasion to observe, High Churchmen do not think themselves concerned to draw; I mean, that he who seizes an Episcopal throne, that

* Heb. v. 4, 5.

that is, the Christian "High Priesthood," by force, or acquires possession of it by bribery, intrigue, or by any other means that are different from the means by which Aaron and his divine Anti-type acquired possession of *their* High Priesthood, is not a Bishop; and that therefore, the succession stops at him. Would you dare to say, that John XIX. for example, or Benedict IX. or Gregory VI. were called of God as was Aaron? Or that the person who procures the Episcopate by the intrigues of worthless men, or of infamous prostitutes, or forces his way into one of the seats of the apostles (as you call Episcopal thrones) by violence and outrage, blood and massacre, is called of God? When the apostle says, that "Aaron was called of God," is nothing more meant, than that Moses consecrated him? Did not God, by an express statute, appoint him and his posterity to be the High Priests of his chosen people unto all generations? And did not this appointment, of course, *precede* the consecration of Aaron? Could any consecration even by Moses himself, after the statute just now alluded to, was promulged, have made a person who was not of the tribe of Levi and the family of Aaron, the legitimate High Priest of the Jews? Suppose an intriguing politician of the tribe of Reuben had looked to the High Priesthood with desire, and had, either by corruption, or by raising an insurrection, as Corah did, brought about his consecration to that high office; I ask you, whether this would not have *broke* the succession, as Mr. Law expresses it in his *pure English*? You will not, I presume, answer in the negative: for you cannot maintain, that this Reubenite High Priest did not "take the honour to himself, but was called "of God as was Aaron," because, in reality, he took it unto himself, not merely *without* a call, but in direct violation of a divine statute. This, in my opinion, would have been fully worse, (if worse could be) than if I were
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forcibly to take possession of St. Andrew's Chapel and the Primacy; which, lest I should come off like Corah and his company, I wish it to be understood, I never mean to do.

It is the call, then, and not consecration, that constitutes a person either a legal High Priest, or a true and rightful Bishop. And this has been the doctrine of the christian church, both in the best and in the worst times. I do not know whether in your church, every Bishop's call is strictly canonical or not, because, for ought I know, the canons of the Scotch Episcopal Church may appoint a Prelate to be called by the clergy and people of a diocese, who know nothing about him, and among whom it is not necessary that he should have his Episcopal residence. But this I know, that, in ancient times, a regular call, by the clergy and people of a church, was accounted essential to the validity of consecration. About the middle of the fifth century, Leo I. Bishop of Rome, in his XII. Letter to Anastasius, Bishop of Thessalonica, insists, that, where the election, or call, was irregular, the consequent ordination was invalid, that is, no ordination at all. In the time of Gregory the Great, about the end of the sixth century, the doctrine of the church was the same. For, when the clergy of the church of Milan, in the absence of the greater number of the people, who had fled to Genoa to avoid the ravages of the Lombards, made choice of Constantius to be their Bishop, Gregory insisted, that Constantius could not be consecrated, without the consent and approbation of the people, and that a message should be sent to them at Genoa, that their pleasure might be known.* In the beginning of the eleventh century, we find a Pope, Leo IX. who had been elected by an assembly of German Lords and Bishops
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* F. Paolo, Eccl. Ben. Note c. vii.

at Worms, to whom the election had been referred by the Emperor, accepting the dignity, on condition only, that the Roman people and clergy approved and confirmed his election: [Ii] which shews pretty clearly, that he considered ordination to be void, when it was not preceded by canonical election. That this was the doctrine of the church of Rome, after the middle of the eleventh century, we have undoubted evidence: for, in 1059, Nicolas II, and the Lateran Council, which condemned the doctrine of Berengarius respecting the eucharist, decreed, that if the Bishop elect of Rome should be prevented from being consecrated and introned, by war or other casualty, he might, nevertheless, exercise his authority as true and lawful Pope, in governing his church, and disposing of the goods of his see. [Jj]—If the XXIII. Article of the Church of England have any meaning, and be not, as Dr. Campbell suspects it to be, “an identical proposition,” it appears to me to agree with the canon just now referred to: “And those we
 “ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be *chosen*
 “and *called* to this work by men, who have public autho-
 “rity given unto them in the congregation, to call and
 “send ministers into the Lord’s vineyard.” Does not this mean, that a lawful election and call constitute lawful apostleship, and that ordination adds nothing to the right of the elect to exercise the functions of the sacred ministry, being merely a *formal* introduction to his office, and the solemn dedication of the man, by prayer, and the imposition of hands, to the service of Christ in the gospel? But be the import of ordination what it will, *lawful* election must, in the eye of scripture, and of the church, I may say, at all times, precede it, otherwise the *ordained* “takes this ho-
 “nour

[Ii] Wibert in Vit. S. Leon, Lib. ii. c. 2.—See Notes.

[Jj] Can. In nomine Domini.—See Notes.

“nour to himself,” or rather *attempts* to take it, “without being called of God, as was Aaron;” and it would necessarily follow, that a shepherd may “climb up into the sheep-fold” any way that he finds convenient for himself, without being “a thief and a robber.”

Now, without intending to reprobate any mode of election to the sacred ministry, which has ever been practised in any part of the christian church, I would ask the Vindicator of *Primitive Order*, what that mode is, which we may, *on his principles*, most confidently pronounce to be lawful, because it is apostolical, and therefore divine? Is it a *congé d’elire* from a lay-sovereign, addressed to the Dean and Chapter of a cathedral church? This was, for a very obvious reason, utterly unknown in apostolic times; and it was unknown for many centuries after. Is it nomination and collation by the Bishop of Rome, or the election of that Bishop himself by the Conclave? I do not find that Jesus Christ and his apostles vested in the Bishop of Rome the right of nominating all the clergy in the West of Europe, although Gregory VII. claimed that right, and made his claim good, about ten centuries and a half after our Lord and his apostles quitted the world, without speaking of all the privileges, which the Popes have claimed. And as for the conclave, which now elects the head of that church, through which you derive your orders from the apostles, it is not older than 1274, nor more *primitive* than the other institutions of the Council of Lyons, at which Gregory X. contrived to get it instituted, in spite of all the Cardinals present, who opposed it all to a man. Is the election of a Bishop by the suffrages of the clergy and people of a particular church, which cannot be followed by ordination, till it be confirmed by the secular power, a lawful call? For this also, which is, to be sure, very ancient, there is no precedent

dent in apostolic times. In how many ways can a Bishop be elected, so that he can be said to be called of God, as were Aaron, the first High Priest of the Jews, and Jesus Christ, the High Priest of our profession? I know of only two;—1. When, as in the cases of Aaron, and our Lord, he is particularly nominated by a voice from heaven;—and Secondly, when, as in the case of the officers of the primitive church, he is called by a mode of election, which had the sanction of the authority of the inspired ministers of our Lord. Now, what was the mode of election in their day, which was practised with their approbation; nay, which they themselves actually practised? Look into the New Testament. Look into the history of the primitive church for the first five centuries. Nay, observe the mode of electing the Bishops of Rome from the beginning, till election by the Cardinals was established, during all which time the primitive mode of filling the chair of St. Peter was, in point of form at least, adhered to. “It is certain,” says Fra Paolo (and who will dare to contradict it?) “that, at first, all the faithful, in every christian church, had a share in the election of the ministers of religion.” Barfabas and Matthias were named by the whole church at Jerusalem, for the succession to Judas, and the choice between the two referred to Christ himself, by casting of lots, and by prayer.* The seven deacons were elected by the whole multitude of the disciples.† Can you produce an instance, recorded in ecclesiastical history, of the departure of any considerable church from this apostolic plan of election, till princes were obliged to interfere in the nomination of Bishops, in defence of the peace of the state, and of the honour of religion? If the apostolic constitutions may be considered to be of any weight on this

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* Acts i. 15. et sequ.

† Id. c. vi.

subject, (and I can see no reason to object to the account they give of the ecclesiastical order, which prevailed at the time they were written) they confirm the testimony of history, to which I have appealed; for they appoint, that the Bishop to be ordained be first chosen by the whole people, *ὑπο πάντος τοῦ λαοῦ εκλελεγμενον*.* And what says Cyprian's sixty-seventh Epistle, to mention none other of his Letters, concerning the rights of the people in the nomination of their pastors, by, what he calls elsewhere, very much, I suppose to the displeasure of the Anti-jacobin,† the people's *divina suffragia*? What are we to infer from the tumults and massacres that took place at the election of Damasus? I hope it is not, that the clergy and people of Rome had no vote in the election of their Bishop! What do you say of the XII. Letter of Leo the First, to which I have already referred; and of the injunction which Gregory I. sent to the clergy of Milan, respecting the nullity of Constantius' election, unless the consent and approbation of the people were obtained previously to his ordination? In truth, what you and your controversial allies, are pleased to mention sarcastically, under the invidious name of *democratic influence* in the church, is no other than the influence, which the inspired apostles of Christ established in his church, and what, after *their* day, multitudes of ecclesiastics, of whom the world was not worthy, would have died, rather than attempt to tear from the people. Do *you* sneer at any part of that plan of polity, to which the first ministers of Christ gave the sanction of their high authority;—*You*—the head of an inconsiderable faction in the nineteenth century—and yet erect your crest, and say, “*I am the Vindicator of*
“ *Pri-*

* Lib. viii. § 66.

† The Anti-jacobin will not suffer the *people*, in ancient times, to have had concern in ecclesiastical transactions, but as spectators.

“ *Primitive Truth and Order*, from modern misrepresentation.” Are not You the *author of modern* misrepresentation of *primitive* order, in the very face of the New Testament, and of the other authentic documents of antiquity? Must we distrust the report of our senses, and conclude, that we do not comprehend a plain narrative of plain facts, whenever you and the Anti-jacobin choose to raise the senseless cry, “ Behold! how these men, in the bosom of “ the establishment, support and recommend the Independent scheme?” Because the polity of the Independents is, or *appears* to be, democratical, does it follow, that, in primitive times, the people had no influence in the government of the church, and particularly, in the election of their ministers? Is the adoption of any principle or tenet by the Independents, a sufficient reason for our rejecting it? and must we suffer nothing to have the sanction of apostolic practice, which they do? The Independents profess to believe in God, and in Jesus Christ; and they have not expunged the eighth commandment from the decalogue. Must we turn atheists, or deists, or thieves and robbers, in order to escape the opprobrium of being called Independents in disguise, by the candid and intelligent advocates of the principles and pretensions of High Church?

We have seen what was the practice of primitive times in electing the ministers of religion. The practice of latter times has been very different. Is it the more canonical for that reason? Is your claim to be accounted a lineal successor of the apostles the more admissible, because many of your “ authors and predecessors” were “ called and sent “ into the Lord’s vineyard,” neither as Jesus Christ and his apostles, nor as the pastors of the primitive church, were “ called and sent,” but elected by emperors and kings, counts, marquisses, and popes, sometimes with the consent

and approbation of the people, but oftener without it? You have, on the principles inculcated in your *Vindication*, pretty much the same right to contend, that you were “called of God” to the Episcopate, that the present Emperor of France and King of Italy has to maintain, that he was “called of God” to the head of those great empires. He *is* at the head of them, in the course of Providence; and you are, in the course of Providence, at the head of the Scotch Episcopal Church; and you have, both, the very same proofs of a divine mission to produce. If *you* were consecrated by two or three Bishops, Napoleon was anointed and crowned by the Pope of Rome—the Bishop of all Bishops, the imposition of whose hands is, at *least*, worth that of a hundred humble diocesans.

LETTER

LETTER XXVI.



THE first interruption, so far as election is concerned, that the Episcopal Succession met with, was occasioned by the interposition of the secular power in the election of ministers of the gospel.

When the real meaning of *Nolo Episcopari* came, in process of time, to be "Make me a Bishop," princes found it necessary, for the peace of the church and state, to interfere in the election of Prelates, and to prohibit their ordination, without the consent and approbation of the sovereign, or his civil representative. This was no usurpation; for princes were earnestly called upon, by pious men, to interpose, as the persons under whose protection God had placed the interests of religion: and, indeed, their interposition became evidently necessary, to prevent religion from falling into universal discredit, and the state from being convulsed by violent contests about "high stations" among ambitious and unprincipled churchmen. Thus the church rendered herself altogether unworthy of that liberty, where-with Christ hath made her free; and she lost it.

The interposition of princes in elections, and the negative on popular elections, which their right of confirmation and investiture gave them, and which they found it for the advantage of religion and the good of society to assume, turned the Episcopal succession into quite a new channel. Writers on the side of High Church, I know, deny that the right of confirmation and investiture is a spirituality. But if it was not considered to be a spirituality, [Kk] by those, who understood its nature fully as well as *we* can be supposed to understand it, how came it that the *Electus*, as a Bishop was called before confirmation of his election, could not perform any Episcopal function whatever; all the Episcopal functions, in his church, from the time of his election, till it was confirmed, being performed by the Arch-priest? Besides, if election itself be a spirituality, which, I suppose, nobody will deny, the confirmation of it must, of necessity, be a spirituality too.—I say nothing of the various instances that occur, in the early periods of ecclesiastical history, of emperors and kings *nominating* Bishops, without consulting either the people, or the clergy, when disturbances were apprehended at elections. But I insist, that if an elect could neither be ordained, nor perform any Episcopal function without confirmation by the lay sovereign, *that* confirmation was a spirituality. And if confirmation and investiture were not, in ancient times, regarded as spiritualities in some sense or other, what could be the meaning, intent, and purpose, of the ring and crosier, which the emperor, or other lay-sovereign, sent to the Bishop elect? and what did those sovereigns mean, when they ordained *their representatives*, by whom they transmitted the symbols of confirmation and investiture, to assist at the consecration of the Bishop elect? Did you ever hear of a vassal doing homage to his liege lord,

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[Kk] See Notes.

for lands and other temporalities held of him, by accepting from his hands a ring and a pastoral staff? Of what could the ring be a symbol, but of the spiritual marriage of a Bishop with his flock? And if the crozier was not an emblem of the pastoral care, I look to the genius and research of the critics and antiquaries of High Church, for a more just and satisfactory explanation of it; which we have not, as yet, seen. Mr. Skinner * finds fault with the delivery of the ring and crozier, "because it may be *thought* to convey something of a sacred character, and give countenance to a dangerous mistake, as if one could not be a Bishop, till the king had married him to his charge, and committed the feeding of the flock of Christ to him." But Mr. Skinner had not the ordering of that matter. And, whether the "mistake," to which the delivery of the ring and crozier "might give countenance," was "dangerous" or not, it was a very *general* mistake: and, indeed, if we attend to the considerations now urged, we must admit, that it could scarcely be avoided. That the clergy, in particular, fell into it, appears from their insisting on the emperors, and other lay sovereigns, discontinuing the ceremony of delivering the ring and crozier to Bishops elect. The manner, in which our ecclesiastical historian brings us acquainted with this fact, deserves our attention. "This particular ceremony" (the delivery of the ring and crozier) "as carrying such an unfavourable aspect to the spiritual powers of the church, was, at last, after *much wrangling*, departed from by the emperors and other lay sovereigns."† It is, indeed, well known, that there was *not a little wrangling* in the eleventh and twelfth centuries about the affair of the ring and the crozier; and the clergy, as Mr. Skinner

* Letters on Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, vol. I. p. 237.

† Ubi supra.

tells us, prevailed at last, after no more than seventy-eight battles, which cost only a few millions of lives; and at no greater expence than excommunications and interdicts innumerable, and a countless multitude of enormous and unnatural crimes, all which the clergy accounted to be as the dust in the balance, when the question was about their aggrandisement. This is what High Churchmen, with most exemplary *sang froid*, call *wrangling*. It was, indeed, a kind of pastime to the Popes and their friends; and as it ended so much to their advantage, it is no wonder that those, who delight in magnifying the spiritual power of the church, and its entire independence on the state, look back to the *wrangling* about the investitures, as the pleasiest pastime in which the church ever engaged. Gregory VII. began this priestly sport. He did, indeed, most humbly accept confirmation of his own election from Henry IV. of Germany. Nay, he, at first, begged of Henry not to confirm his election, hypocritically pretending that he thought himself unequal to the office, and that he had been chosen much against his own inclination. Gregory, who was a High Churchman, differed, you see, from his successors in modern times; for what *they* will not allow to be a spirituality, *he* thought essential to the validity of all Episcopal functions; and he would not accept consecration without it. But he was, all the while, perfectly sensible, that it would be for the honour and glory of his see, and, probably, for the advantage of the apostolic chamber, to seize the right of nominating and collating to all the bishoprics, and other rich benefices, within the wide circuit of his sacerdotal dominions. He seems to have formed the vast design of adding all power on earth, to all power in heaven and purgatory, before he ascended the papal throne; and he no sooner found himself in full possession of his high dignity, than he began to execute it. For the punishment
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of the corrupt and idolatrous church, of which the Bishops of Rome had usurped the dominion, Gregory and his successors were permitted to accomplish this gigantic scheme of priestly ambition.

Thus were emperors and kings, and other lay-patrons, thrust out of the succession from the apostles; and the clergy, as was most fit, occupied their room. But the misfortune is, that they had not been *kept* out from the beginning, but had been permitted to nominate the clergy, and “marry Bishops to their charges,” for several centuries. And what adds to the misfortune, is, that kings, and other lay-patrons, especially in protestant countries, have assumed, and at this moment keep in their hands, the nomination of Bishops, without giving themselves any trouble about consulting, as was done in primitive times, (the times when Bishop Skinner’s *order* was respected) either the people or the clergy; and in this island particularly, our kings have made Bishops their own *Lieutenants*, as we shall see by and by.—In all this I can see nothing like the *call* which Aaron received.

LETTER XXVII.

WE have seen that the primitive (which, in your opinion, is the only lawful) mode of election to ecclesiastical offices, was very early encroached upon, by the necessary interference of the secular power, and was, at last, annihilated. I have now to add, that where the primitive mode of election was adhered to in appearance, it was, in many cases, abandoned in reality. In most of the great churches, elections ceased to be free at an early period.

Election by the free, unforced, unbiaſſed ſuffrages of the clergy and people ; this is what I call *canonical* election. Of this the book of Acts preſents you with ſome inſtances under the direction of the inſpired apoſtles of Chriſt,—and, therefore, I am not afraid to ſay, that the elect were called of God, as was Aaron. But though the form of this mode of election was preſerved for ſome ages, the ſubſtance was long gone, before the ſhadow was diſmiſſed : the *letter* remained, long after the *ſpirit* had fled. In the fourth century, the papal chairs, for example, became the ſubject of eager contention ; and how nefarious was the means, by
which

which many of the Bishops of Rome were exalted to the Episcopal throne of that great city? The *ambitus*, which the *Campus Martius* had so often witnessed in the days of the Pagan Republic, was but a trifle to the corruption, that was frequently practised for securing the succession to the fishermen of Galilee. How often did the intrigues and bribery of unprincipled competitors for the chair of St. Peter, divide the clergy and people into two hostile armies, who thirsted for each others blood, and who sometimes, led on by the pretended vicar of the Lamb of God, massacred one another with the ferocity of savages! You remember the contest between Damasus and Ursinus, the confusion which it spread through the whole city of Rome, and the blood with which the Basilic of Liberius flowed. As the church advanced in years, corruption increased the more, and spread the farther, till at last it infected the general mass, and converted the whole body of the clergy into a band of what our Lord calls "thieves and robbers," who "entered not into the sheepfold by the door, but climbed "up another way." "How hideous," exclaims Baronius, "was the face of the Roman church, when filthy and impudent whores governed all at Rome, changed fees at "pleasure, *disposed of bishoprics*, and intruded their gallants "and their bullies into the See of St. Peter! The *canons* "were trodden under foot,"* &c. This is not quite reconcilable to Mr. Law's "clear satisfactory train of reasoning;" particularly in what regards the strict and universal observance, in every age, of the canons relating to ordination: but it is matter of fact, related by a Roman Cardinal, who had the honour of the church, and particularly of the Episcopate, as much at heart as Mr. Law had.

Does

* Baron. ad ann. 900.

Does the Cardinal affect to deny, or conceal the interruption of the Episcopal succession, which was the necessary consequence of the enormous irregularities that he bewails? Not at all. Baronius was not, where the honour of the church was concerned, the most modest writer in the world. But he does not appear to have been furnished, by nature, with quite so liberal a portion of effrontery, as Mr. Law, and those who celebrate Mr. Law's "clear satisfactory train of reasoning," nor to have esteemed "thieves and robbers, the bullies and bastards of filthy and impudent whores," the legitimate successors of our Lord's apostles. The praise of this he left to the advocates of the hierarchy in Great Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He acknowledges, with a candour that is highly honourable to him, that the Episcopal succession did actually fail in the ninth and tenth centuries; for he calls the Popes of those times *usurpers* (*invasores apostolicæ sedis*) and not *apostolic* Bishops, but *apostates*. Nay, he confesses explicitly, that the church was, *then*, for the most part without a Pope, though not without a head, its spiritual Head, Jesus Christ, being in heaven. Platina joins the Cardinal, and says, that, when almost all the Popes were raised to the throne by Simony, by violence and outrage, or by the intrigues of vile courtizans, the See of St. Peter was *seized*, not *possessed*, and *seized* by *monsters*, not *Popes*. And yet those holy *usurpers*, *apostates*, and *monsters*, and the apostates and monsters, whom they *set* in every part of the western church, are your spiritual progenitors! I congratulate you on your descent from ancestors so illustrious. They seem to me to connect you rather with Herod and Pontius Pilate, Nero and Caligula, than with Christ and his apostles.

LETTER XXVIII.



IT has been already remarked, that one of your most strenuous controvertists * insists, that Simony does not invalidate the orders of the Simoniac. His arguments equally prove, that no conceivable disqualification, whatever, not even absolute atheism, can unfit a man, who is ordained *secundum artem*, for transmitting the apostolical commission. It is a great fault of some arguments, that they are *too* vigorous, and prove too much; which, I apprehend, is the fault of some of the arguments urged by this ingenious author.

I cannot help believing, because Jesus Christ has said it, that “ he, who entereth not by the door into the sheep-
 “ fold, but climbeth up some other way, is a thief and a
 “ robber,” and, therefore, cannot continue the succession
 from the apostles; who, though extremely poor in compar-
 ison of some of their pretended successors, were *not* “ thieves
 “ and robbers.” Now, to say no more of “ the intrigues
 “ of filthy and impudent prostitutes,” nor of the violence
 and outrage, blood and massacre, by which many “ climb-
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* Rebuffer Rebuffed.

“ed up into the sheep-fold;” I would ask you, whether bribery (it does not signify whether it be properly called Simony or not) be *the door*? It is a door, which our Lord and his apostles never set open, and I know of none other who had a right to set it open. And yet there is not, I am firmly convinced, one Bishop in the west of Europe, at this day, who does not derive his orders from the apostles through Simoniacs. The author, last referred to, has shewn,* that in England particularly, which is the mother country of your church, Simony was, for seven or eight centuries, practised almost universally.

The pretence for wresting, from laymen, the right of nomination and investiture, which Gregory VII. and his successors most vehemently urged, was, that royal and other lay-patrons derived profit from the exercise of their *jus patronatûs*; which they pronounced to be Simony, not knowing the nature of that crime so exactly, as some churchmen of the present day. The accusation was too well founded. But if a Bishop purchased a nomination to his See from the Pope, was he less guilty of Simony, than if he had purchased the same commodity from a secular prince? Did Simony change its nature, and forfeit its name, so soon as it was practised for the most holy purpose of enriching the apostolic chamber? I cannot think it. Simony, whether it be practised by a layman, or by the Pope, is still Simony; and if his holiness practise it, he is, *quoad hoc*, the greater sinner of the two.

Need I urge any proofs, that the Popes practised Simony without shame, and without measure? Several of themselves bought the pontificate. Do you think the conscience
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* Rebuffer Rebuffed, p. 25, 26.

of such worthies was so very delicate, as not to permit them to make the most they could of their bargain? Would those who bought a Bishopric, give away the Bishoprics, which were at their disposal, for nothing? It is altogether unnecessary to produce particular examples of what all the world knows to have been practised generally, without concealment or shame. I shall therefore, mention only one *holy father*, who made the most of his *jus patronatus*, that could be made. It is Boniface IX. Of this man, who sat in the Papal chair from 1389 to 1404, all the historians say, that he bestowed church preferments, as we bestow goods at an auction, on the highest bidder. His insatiable avarice, or rather rapacity, is imputed to nepotism: for at his death, there was found scarcely a florin of gold in his coffers.

Boniface IX. was not the only holy father, that was ever afflicted with the disease of nepotism. Many other Popes had relations, some of whom were not quite so distant as nephews and nieces: and they were as ambitious of making them princes and princesses, as Boniface was. That they drew princely fortunes for them from the same sources, is well known. But though there had been no more Simonical Popes, from Linus to Leo X. than Boniface IX. alone, his corrupt reign of fifteen years was sufficient to convert, in the end, almost all the Bishops in Europe, into successors of Simon Magus.

A distinction has been made between the ministry of Jesus Christ, which is committed to a Bishop, and the temporal possessions annexed to that ministry; and I believe, this distinction was first made by temporal princes, who had the nomination of Bishops, and could not perceive, that there was any thing reprehensible in assigning some

part of the temporalities of Bishopsrics to the service of the state; that is, in making a candidate for the Episcopacy, where benefices were not taxable like other possessions, pay for his nomination. "But," says Fra Paolo, "this reasoning did not satisfy learned and pious men; for, though the revenues of benefices are certainly temporalities, yet the right or title, by which they are enjoyed, is a spirituality. And so far," adds he, "it was generally allowed, as it is at this day, that the Popes had reason to condemn this practice, and call it Simony."*

But, what if it can be proved, in illustration of Mr. Law's "satisfactory train of reasoning," that ordination itself, which all admit to be a spirituality, has often, since the time of the apostles, been purchased with money, in every part of the western church? I cannot be persuaded, that the Holy Ghost, either in his *χαρισματα* or his *χαριτες*, both which are "the gift of God," could be purchased with money several centuries *after* the commencement of the christian era, any more than at the time that *Simon the forcerer* attempted to make his bargain with Peter and John. Though churchmen soon became so insatiably covetous, that they would have sold for money all that is in heaven, and on earth, and under the earth, yet they did not actually acquire the disposal of all the gifts of divine grace; and they could no more say with effect, to the man who had given them a valuable consideration for holy orders, "Receive thou the Holy Ghost," than I can say with effect to you, "Bishop Skinner, be thou the Grand Lama of Thibet, or the Senior Bishop of the moon."

How early the corrupt practice of purchasing, or rather
seeming

* Eccls. Ben. c. xxxviii.

seeming to purchase, ordination, crept into the church, I cannot ascertain precisely. But it is well known to have prevailed very generally in the end of the sixth century.—Gregory the Great, a zealous ecclesiastic, and, (if we except his passion for the aggrandizement of his See, which seduced him into great errors) a very worthy man, was much scandalized and grieved at the Simoniacal practices, which disgraced the clergy of his time; and he forbade, under heavy penalties, all the ecclesiastics, who were immediately subject to the See of Rome, to exact or accept any price, reward, or acknowledgment, for *ordination*, marriages, christenings, or burials. This prohibition shews, that the violation, by the clergy, of the divine canon, “Freely ye have received, freely give,” was notorious and general in Gregory’s time: for prohibitory laws are not ordinarily issued for the purpose of putting mankind in mind of crimes, which are not generally practised, but for the purpose of checking and extirpating those which *are* practised. But Gregory’s own Letters establish the fact beyond contradiction, that, in the sixth century, the clergy, in general, disgraced themselves as much by Simony, as by the licentiousness of their lives; neither of which they shewed any anxiety to conceal or disguise. Those Letters also inform us of the vigorous measures which he pursued for the purpose of cleansing the sanctuary from those two gross pollutions. To extirpate Simony, he strictly forbade it, under heavy penalties, as I have already observed, in all the churches immediately subject to his See; he set an example of the purest disinterestedness, absolutely to accept on any occasion whatever, so much as a trifling present of wine, from any of his suffragans: and to extirpate Simony from the churches, that were not under the immediate jurisdiction of his See, he wrote letters to Bishops, Kings, and Princes, and to all men in power, entreating

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them

them to assemble councils, and endeavour to root out a practice, at once ignominious to the clergy, and hurtful to the religion which they were commissioned to teach.*

But whatever immediate effects Gregory's zeal may have produced in his own time, we find, when we look forward in the history of the church, that they were transient. The truth is, I apprehend, that the vigorous measures, to which he resorted for the suppression of Simony, compelled it to put on disguises, but by no means put a stop to it. In 1049, the Bishop of Langres was prosecuted for selling holy orders, and so were the numerous clergy of Milan, in 1059, for buying and selling the same commodity. This contraband trade appears to have flourished at Milan to an astonishing degree. For, the legates of Nicolas II. in the course of their inquisition into the extent of the traffic, found that scarcely one of the clergy of that church had been ordained, for a considerable number of years, without paying for his ordination. This is related by one of the legates themselves.† And here I must remark, that a council of the Bishops of all nations, which Nicolas called to meet at the Lateran in 1059, differed in opinion from a controvertist (to whose works we have referred before‡) respecting the validity of orders purchased with money.— That writer boldly affirms, as we have seen, that if Judas Iscariot had ordained Simon Magus for a little money, the magician would have been as true and rightful a Bishop, as legitimate a successor of the apostles, as Clemens Romanus, or the present Primate of Scotland. On the other hand, the council, convened by Nicolas II. at the Lateran, decreed, that if any man should accept ordination, even

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* See Gregory's Letters, Lib. iii. iv. v. ix. x. xi.

† Petr. Damian. Opusc. 5.

‡ Rebuffer Rebuffered.

without paying for it, from the hand of a Simoniac, he should be turned out of the ministry; though they allowed those who had been so ordained before the meeting of the Council, to retain the orders they had received. Which of the two, the council, or the author referred to above, is in the right, in thinking that “the gift of God *cannot* be purchased with money?” I acknowledge, that although I am not more disposed to bow to the opinions of general councils than the Church of England is, I coincide with the council of the Lateran on this particular point, because the apostle Peter was of the same mind; and I have some respect to *his* opinion.

It rests with you to shew, by the production of authentic documents, that not one of your spiritual “authors and predecessors,” from the age of the apostles down to the reign of Henry VIII. of England, when our kings and queens came into your line of succession, purchased his ordination or his benefice with money. When you shall have done this, you will probably bring over a considerable number to your opinion, that Mr. Law’s “train of reasoning,” on your unbroken succession, is “clear and satisfactory.” But till this be done, you cannot so much as make it *probable*, that, in every age since the apostles, every Bishop was ordained by *Bishops*: for, if there be any thing in Peter’s declaration, that “the gift of God cannot be purchased with money,” a man may wear a square cap and lawn sleeves, and be called my Lord, and live like a prince, and yet be no more a Bishop than Simon Magus or Kouli Khan.

LETTER XXIX.

MR. LAW asks, whether “ there be any possibility of forging orders, and *thus* stealing a Bishopric ? ” I answer, nothing is more possible, than to forge a certificate of orders : and I ask you, in turn, whether you can think this the only species of forgery, that was never committed ? Clergymen have forged wills, and other conveyances of property, decretals, and canons ; nay they have even dared to counterfeit the seal of omnipotence by forging miracles.— Was Mr. Law ignorant of facts so notorious ? Impossible ! Yet he affected to believe, that those conscientious and holy clerks, who could forge wills, decretals, and miracles, were too pious to forge a certificate of orders, and to enjoy the benefit of the forgery ! Let me farther ask, Was there any thing more possible, at certain periods, than to carry a forged certificate of orders to Rome, in pursuit of a benefice, and to get it sustained there, provided only there was “ money in the purse,” and a recommendation to the patronage of some of the Pope’s favourites, male or female ? Does not Bernard * tell Eugene III. that that sink
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* Consider. ad. Eugen. Lib. iv. c. 4.

of corruption was the common rendezvous of the ambitious, the covetous, the Simoniacal, the adulterous, the incestuous, who flocked thither from all parts of the world, that, through the apostolic authority of the holy Father, they might either get ecclesiastical preferments, or be confirmed in the usurped possession of them. That forged certificates of ordination, or certificates of an ordination which had been procured by means the most irregular, and perhaps infamous, were frequently presented, at Rome, by honest gentlemen (of the several classes mentioned by Bernard) who had seized, or set their heart upon, some part of the patrimony of the church; and that those certificates were sustained on certain terms, without any very scrupulous enquiry into their authenticity, it would be absurd to doubt. "Every thing was privileged at Rome," says Fra Paolo, "which no body dared to do any where else."

LETTER XXX.

I HAVE called your attention to the arrogant assumption, and the no less arrogant and indiscriminate exercise, of the Pope's dispensing power, by which he dissolved all canons and ecclesiastical constitutions, whenever it suited his own corrupt views, or those of his unprincipled favourites and retainers. I have shewn, that the doctrine, on which the canons relating to ordination were founded, was not always equally believed, and that the canons themselves were, in fact, often violated. I have shewn, that, though the Pope was long regarded, in the West of Europe, as the only legitimate source of all ecclesiastical authority, whence it flowed, like streams from their fountain, and was distributed through the whole Papal vineyard: yet, in the opinion even of zealous Romanists, the very spring itself was, I do not say polluted, but absolutely annihilated, many of the Popes having been, by the account of their successors, as well as of Cardinals and other Romish historians, the representatives and successors, not of Simon the apostle, but of Simon the forcerer, and the vicars of Satan, not of Jesus Christ. To this I might, if it were

were necessary for my purpose, add the numerous instances of Popes, and other Bishops, who were ordained into "a full See," that is, into a See which was legally possessed by another;—an irregularity, which sometimes occurred in England, whence you glory in having derived your orders. This is a kind of ordination, which was always considered by the church to be absolutely null. It was, you know, reprobated by Cyprian,* your favourite saint, and by all your deprived Episcopal saints in Britain after the Revolution. Nay, we shall see, by and by, that you yourself complain of it bitterly, in so far as the ejection from their livings, in some of your predecessors, is concerned.—The frequent occurrence of this gross irregularity does, I apprehend, bear no favourable aspect to your unbroken succession. You cannot prove, that the apostolic commission has not been transmitted to you through many of those men, who forced their ways into Episcopal Sees, while they were legally possessed by others.

Let me call your attention to another fact, equally hostile to the high pretensions which you advance. What think you of the probable effect of the many schisms in the Papacy, with which ecclesiastical history brings us acquainted? There was a schism, carried on by four Anti-popes, in the twelfth century, which lasted twenty-one years, and ended in 1178. The great western schism, as it is called, began the 20th of September, 1378, and continued till the 26th of July, 1429, having lasted nearly 31 years. During so long a period, it is probable that every Episcopal See in Europe had been occupied by two or three Bishops in succession, who owed their nomination and investiture, and, perhaps, in various instances, their consecration, to one or

* See his Epistles on Novatian's Schism.

other of the contending Popes. And yet neither the Council of Pisa, nor the Council of Constance, nor any writer of name in the Romish communion for a considerable time after the schism was brought to an end, ventured to declare any one of the pretenders the lawful successor of St. Peter. The Council of Constance, indeed, by deposing two of the competitors, and accepting the resignation of the third, before they elected Martin V. seems to me to declare, that the holy fathers there convened, considered *none* of the contending Popes to be lawful Pope.

From one or other of the competitors, it is next to certain, that your orders descend. Nay, for aught we know, they may *all* have had some concern in transmitting your apostolical commission. Whether your orders are, on your own principles, more or less valid, for having descended to you through the Anti-popes, the *invasores apostolica sedis*, I leave you to decide.

Upon the whole, if it could be proved, or even shewn to be, in the least degree, probable, that, amid the changes and revolutions of ages, and amid the ruins of all that is christian in the worst times, your *unbroken succession* stood firm,

“ Like some tall cliff, that lifts its awful form,

“ Swells from the vale, and mid-way leaves the storm,”

we should not be so much disposed to think that you rave, when you tell your people, that it is *the rock of their salvation*. But is this probable? Do you dream, that the orders of the Episcopal Churches of this island are of such ineffable importance in the estimation of the Divine Head of the church universal, the Saviour of all men, that he preserved *them* in “ the waste howling wilderness, and kept them as the apple of his eye,” while he permitted confusion to seize all

ecclesiastical concerns besides, and imposture to trample down the Greek, Asiatic, and African churches? If your orders escaped, it must have been by a succession of miracles. And yet we cannot discover from scripture, nor from the light of nature, that the *mere mode* of transmitting the apostolic commission, is a thing of any importance at all in the estimation of Jesus Christ, provided only his gospel be preached, and his ordinances administered in purity. You cannot figure to yourself one rational cause for believing, that eternal Providence is concerned to preserve your Episcopal succession unbroken, no more than you can give a good reason for our Lord's preferring Episcopacy, the *regimen* of sacerdotal monarchs, to every other mode of governing his church. And if the credit of your unbroken succession depend, as Mr. Law admits that it does, on the strict observance of the canons in every age of the church, your confidence in it is like a house built upon the sand: for the canons have been all violated times without number, and were never strictly observed in any age.

So much for Mr. Law's "clear satisfactory train of reasoning," which is equally at variance with probability and with facts. Of what you advance in illustration of Mr. Law's reasoning, we shall now take some transient notice.

LETTER XXXI.

“ NO order of men, existing at present in the christian church,” says Dr. Campbell, “ can give any evidence of a divine right, compared with that of the tribe of Levi, and of the posterity of Aaron, in the Jewish.”

Although it is evident, that you either do not, or will not, understand this proposition, you boldly undertake to maintain the very reverse. The Lecturer’s meaning is as plain as words can make it. What he says is, that the God of Israel, by an express law, confined the Jewish Priesthood to the tribe of Levi, and the office of High Priest to the posterity of Aaron, and thus conferred a divine right on that tribe and family, which no order of men, existing at present in the christian church, can shew that he has conferred on *them*. Why did you pretend to dispute the truth of this proposition, without having one single fact or argument to bring forth against it? If there be, in scripture, an express statute, appointing the christian altar to be served by a succession of Priests, whose spiritual generation goes on according to a fixed law, just as natural generation

went on in the tribe of Levi and the family of Aaron, you have been guilty of great injustice to your church, by concealing that statute so long. The production of it would have disproved the Lecturer's proposition at once. But, instead of this, you tell us—what? “It would not be so easily proved, that no spurious child had ever been introduced into the family of the Jewish High Priest, as that no unordained person had ever been admitted to the Episcopal office!” I should be delighted with a proof of either of these propositions; but I do not seriously expect ever to see it. But what would it signify to the support of your scheme, though it were proved irrefragably, that none of the Jewish High Priests' wives were ever guilty of infidelity to their husbands? Would your uninterrupted succession be deducible as a corollary from such a demonstration? Would the incorruptible chastity of a succession of ladies for 1500 years, prove that the canons had never been violated in the ordination of christian Bishops for the succeeding fifteen centuries? I cannot possibly discover, that there is so close a connection between the chastity of Jewish wives, and the knowledge and piety of christian Bishops, that, if the one be proved, the other may warrantably be inferred. But you do not trouble yourself with proving either. You take both for granted, and speak of both as equally clear and indisputable. “But indeed we have good reason to believe, that in either case, nothing of this kind has ever happened,”* that is, we have *good reason* to believe, that there never was an illegitimate child in the family of a Jewish High Priest, and never a Bishop in the christian church, who was not admitted to his high office agreeably to the canons.

With regard to the last of these propositions, I have urged

* Vind. p. 325. 326.

ged some facts, which do not afford the best reasons in the world for admitting it, because—they flatly contradict it. As to the first, I say nothing; for I have not the honour of being so particularly acquainted with the *secret history* of all the Jewish High Priests' wives, as the editors of some periodical works, in our times, seem to be with the *tête a tête* of modern gentlemen and ladies. But if the wives of the High Priests were never, in one instance, guilty, or even suspected, of gallantry, which you seem to believe was their happy case, it is more than can be predicated of the Priests themselves. Eli's sons, in particular, you know, had some affairs of this kind, now and then; and the costs and damages awarded against them were very heavy. It is observable too, that, like the fine gentlemen of the present day, they were nowise ashamed of their gallantries, in conducting which, they were very far from affecting concealment. They, thus, in my opinion, set rather a dangerous example to their ladies. But to be plain, whatever you choose to do, I shall not risque my salvation on the "good reason we have to believe," that not one, in such a long succession as the whole line of Jewish High Priests' wives, ever defiled the bed of her husband. And yet on this slippery ground do you rest the salvation of all true Episcopal, the whole ELECT. For, to the eulogy of the Jewish sacerdotal ladies, you add, "The christian" (otherwise, the member of High Church) "has at least equal ground to be satisfied, that the government of the church under the gospel having been established by the apostles, in the way of Episcopal succession, that succession has never yet failed in the christian world" (equal ground to believe this) "as that no doubt had ever been entertained of the family of Aaron having been preserved pure from any illegitimate mixture."*

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* Ibid.

It must be confessed, that this reasoning shews, that all who have the grace to adhere to High Church, are in the most comfortable situation that can be imagined. Your doctrine, Sir, is refreshing to the soul of an Episcopal, as "the dew of Hermon, the dew that descended on the mountains of Zion." He can say, when he lays him down to sleep, "I have at least as good reason to be satisfied, that I am in the road to heaven, and that High Church, if I implicitly follow her direction, will guide me thither, as that the wives of the Jewish High Priests never, in one single instance, committed a *faux pas* in the course of fifteen centuries, although they were all Asiatics!" This is nothing inferior, as a source of comfort and good hope, to the faith of assurance. The man must rest soundly, "indifferent in his choice, to sleep or die!" But alas! how deeply is it to be lamented, that the *succession* of such valuable matrons, a succession of fully as great importance to mankind as the *Episcopal succession*, would seem, by all accounts, to have failed! But this inestimable blessing may, for ought I know, have descended to High Church, along with the Jewish model of ecclesiastical polity.

You adopt the strangest method that can be conceived, of shewing that the Church of Rome transmitted the apostolic commission, through the canonical channels, down to the present times. First, you inform us, that the corruptions of that church did "not affect *the validity* of that commission." This cant word of your party, "validity," I cannot, for my life, understand in the application just quoted. I have some conception of what is meant by the "validity of ordination," and "the validity of the sacraments," although my conception of it is somewhat confused, having never seen any thing in scripture, that throws
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any light on the term, or the idea which it conveys; for both are equally unknown to the sacred penmen. But as to the corruptions of any church affecting the validity of Christ's commission, of this I have not the least comprehension. If you mean by it, that the papal corruptions were not permitted to extinguish the light of the christian religion, by annihilating the scriptures, and putting an end to an evangelical ministry, I agree with you. Our religion is a rock which cannot be moved by man, and which, if it fall upon its most powerful enemies, will grind them to powder.—But, if by “the corruptions of the Church of Rome affecting the validity of the apostolical commission,” you mean, that that church never did, nor could, become so corrupt, as to violate all the canons relating to ordination, you are, as we have seen, contradicted by the most authentic historical documents. I am not much inclined to *unchurch* any body of christians, that is, (if there be any meaning in that unscriptural expression) to send them to the devil. Hence I shall not dispute the point with you, that “the Church of Rome, in her worst state, did not “cease to be a church,” although your definition of *the church* [L1] does not answer very exactly to the Church of Rome, when all her abuses and corruptions clave to her.—But what signifies it to *you*, whether Rome ceased to be a church or not? What signifies it, whether that church was or was not, *capable* of transmitting the apostolical commission with a strict regard to the canons? The question is not about what she *could do*, but about what she *did*. And of this history only can inform us, to whose voice I have called your attention.

To prove, I suppose, that because the clergy of Rome,
when

[L1] Vind. p. 140, 141. See Notes.

when most corrupt, were not all struck dead with lightning, or swallowed up alive, therefore that church was a true church; you inform us, that, even in the most corrupt state of the Jewish church, "God never instituted a new order of Priests, nor authorized any but the sons of Aaron to appear in his holy place."* But this is nothing to your purpose. It only proves, that the wickedness of the Jews was not sufficient to provoke their Divine Lawgiver to subvert the economy, under which he had placed them, and to alter his laws whenever they were pleased to violate them. It does not prove that the illegitimacy, or occasional idolatry of the Priests, made no breach in the succession from Aaron, but only that God did not think it proper to damn millions of Jews, merely because their High Priest might happen to be an adulterous bastard, for which they were not to be blamed, or because that sacred officer descended, *quoad spiritualia*, from a person who had been a Priest of Moloch, when the worship of that idol was the order of the day. Nay, it is a fact, as subversive of your doctrine regarding the Episcopal succession, as it is undeniable, that our Lord accepted the faith of the humble and thankful Samaritan Leper, and celebrated the humanity of another man who belonged to the same church, although the Priests of the tribe of Levi had been, ages before, cast out of the Israelitish church by Jeroboam, who made Priests of the lowest of the people: and, that, to make his commendation of both as mortifying as possible to gentlemen like you, who contend, that men can be saved in *one church* only, he contrasted the faith, humility, and gratitude of the one, and the compassion and generous humanity of the other, with the unthankfulness and unbelief of the Jewish lepers, and the selfish unfeeling conduct of two sacred

* Vind. p. 346.

cred officers of the tribe of Levi. To argue, then, that, because God did not institute a new order of Priests, setting aside the tribe of Levi and the family of Aaron, we may conclude, that the order of succession was never broken, is to argue against the truth of facts, recorded in scripture. For there we learn, that the order of succession was violated in the Israelitish church; nay, that the whole tribe of Levi was thrust out from being Priests; and yet that the faith and good dispositions of pious and charitable Samaritans were as acceptable to God, as if no such revolution in their Priesthood had ever taken place.

Let me farther remark, that no man but a prophet, sent from God, had authority to dispense with the divine law relating to the Jewish Priesthood. Yet it was often dispensed with by men, who were no prophets. Had the Asmonæan family a legal title to the High Priesthood? Had Antiochus Epiphanes, or Herod the Great, a right to give it to whom they pleased? Had the Romans a divine commission to set it to sale? Was Caiaphas a lineal descendant of Eleazar, or of Ithamar? Could *he* be a legal High Priest, who was thrust into the office during the life of his predecessor? Do we hear one word from our Lord or his apostles, in reprehension of the notorious breaches of the *succession*, which were well known to every Jew? Do we hear one word about the danger, to which those breaches exposed the souls of the people? Did Jesus disown the authority of Caiaphas, or call in question its legality, and thus, by his example, authorise *you* to call the clergy of the established religion of your country, “bold intruders, and unwarranted usurpers,” who, notwithstanding their modest pretensions, can trace their authority to the apostles, with, *at least*, as great certainty, as you can trace yours? No, indeed! Perhaps the reason is, that our Lord and his
apostles

apostles did not hold the doctrine of the necessity of an unbroken succession in the Priesthood to the salvation both of Priests and people, and were not High Churchmen. Whether they "were no churchmen at all," I leave to the decision of the admirers and disciples of his deceased Lordship, the late Bishop of St. Asaph, observing only, with all possible humility, that I think it a little dangerous to attempt to juggle them out of the church altogether.

May I not now presume to say, that a breach or interruption of your Episcopal succession is so far from being, what Mr. Law calls it, a *moral impossibility*, that if such a breach be practicable by the violation of all the canons without exception, it occurred, in numberless instances, during the fifteen hundred years that elapsed before these nations threw off the papal yoke?—But in reality, our inquiry into the validity of the orders, which were transmitted to you through the Church of Rome, now that we have got to the end of it, is at best, but a work of supererogation. For you do not derive your orders from that church, but from the kings and queens of England, beginning with Henry VIII. who is the founder of your sacred family.

LETTER XXXII.

IT is well known, that the church in England, in the time of Henry VIII. did not reform from the Romish religion, but only renounced subjection to the Pope, and exchanged one tyrant for another, a spiritual despot for a temporal. Unfortunately for the church, and her high *spiritual* powers, Henry was a most ruthless despot, and fully more tyrannical than ever the Pope had been. I do not allude to the church in England being compelled, by Act of Parliament, to believe whatever the king believed, and to change the *public* creed, whenever his Majesty should think proper to change *his*. This was no new hardship, nor was it more inconvenient, than to be obliged to adopt the varying creed of Rome, which was frequently changed, and, indeed, never fixed by any public authoritative symbol, before the meeting of the Council of Trent. But I allude to the King's *compelling all the Bishops within his realm to take out commissions from him, by which they acknowledged, that all jurisdiction, civil and ecclesiastical, flowed from the king, and that they exercised it only at the king's courtesy; and that, as they had it of his bounty, so they would be ready to deliver it up at his pleasure; and therefore the king did empower them to*

ordain,

*ordain, give institution, and do all the other parts of the Episcopal function.** “Thus,” as our author remarks, “were “they made,” not Christ’s Bishops, but “the king’s ministers” or lieutenants. Does not this proceeding of Henry, taken in connection with *your* scheme, present to us a curious contemplation? A *divine right* established by *human laws*, and successors of the apostles, not merely *nominated* by a *lay sovereign*, but commissioned to *act* in his *stead*, as his *deputies or delegates*, and removeable from their office, as deputies ordinarily are, at his pleasure?

“But Henry had no right to the authority he assumed.” No matter; he exercised it: And you derive your orders from Bishops, whom *he* empowered to *ordain, give institution, and do all the other parts of the Episcopal function, in his name, and in his stead*; from Bishops, who had no authority, temporal or spiritual, but what King Henry gave them.

I shall not presume to excuse, or even extenuate, the guilt of Henry’s tyrannical and sacrilegious usurpation of authority which did not belong to him; nor shall I offer any apology for the Bishops who accepted the Episcopate on his terms. High Church, I have no doubt, is amazed at the impunity with which those “sons of Belial” escaped; and wonders, that the leprosy did not rise instantaneously in the forehead of the presumptuous monarch, or that he, and his Episcopal rebels did not go “down alive into the pit,

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“and

* See Burnett’s History of the Reformation. With the indisputable historical fact, quoted above, staring you in the face; and in the full knowledge, I must presume, of what happened in the succeeding reign, you say, *Vind.* p. 382, that the State never pretended to exercise or claim the power of conveying any thing whatever that may be truly called *spiritual*!

“ and perish in the gainfaying of Corah, tremendous monuments, to all future ages, of the danger of sacrilegiously intruding into a sacred office, to which they were “ not called of God, as was Aaron :” and, perhaps, if High Church had had the management of the matter, all this had happened. But they did not perish, and I cannot help it. Neither did the king ever complain of leprosy on his forehead, although it is said, he was sometimes afraid of something as disgraceful making its appearance there. In one word, his impious usurpation, and the sacrilegious intrusion of his Bishops, had no consequence more tragical, that we have heard of, than the snapping asunder of your *unbroken* line of Episcopal succession.

Thus it happens, for the everlasting honour and consolation of all High Churchmen in this island, that Henry VIII. and his delegates or lieutenants in the Episcopal office, stand in the line of succession between you and the apostles ; and there, unless you be all re-ordained by the Pope, or some patriarch of a Greek, Asiatic, or African church, or by the Moderator of our General Assembly, who would do it as well as any of them, Henry VIII. and his ecclesiastical lieutenants will stand to the end of the world, though your flocks should all go to perdition, because their Bishops and Priests are “ intruders and usurpers.” A mortifying truth to men, whose pretensions are so high ! But who can make that straight, which has, in the course of Providence, been long crooked ?

Doubtless, it ministers some little ease to your conscience to reflect, that your “ royal author and predecessor” studied divinity so long, that he thought himself a match for Luther at theological controversy ; in which, if he did not gain so decided a victory as at the *Battle of the Spurs*, he

received the highest applause from his Holiness at Rome, (who was, by the bye, a very sorry divine) and was dignified with the title of *Defender of the Faith*. It is also comfortable to you to know, that this spiritual progenitor of yours was intended for the church, and, if his brother Arthur had lived a little longer, might have been *in orders*, ay, and a Bishop too; for, it is probable that preferments would have come "thick upon him." What pity, that Arthur did not live, till Henry was consecrated, and the next day leave him his royal inheritance and his spouse! With the Pope's permission, he could have as easily exchanged the mitre, as Casimir of Poland exchanged the cowl, for an imperial crown: and, in that case, his Bishops could have taken out commissions of Lieutenancy from him with a safe conscience, and without knocking to pieces the *jus divinum*, the idol of High Church. For, would he not have been an apostolic Bishop, having *the character indelibly impressed*; so that, though he had become a prince of darkness, instead of ascending the throne of England, "the great devil of devils himself," as Moliere speaks,* "with his great iron claws red hot," could not have erased it?—Even if he had been like the Greek Emperors, ordained a Deacon only, to which lowly order many of the Popes, your predecessors, belonged at their election, it would have been something. But alas! he was neither Deacon, nor Priest, nor Prelate, but a lay-student of Divinity, and defender of the Popish faith and worship against the Protestants. Behold the original source of the *apostolic orders*, of which the Protestant Episcopal churches of this island have to boast.

You have the less cause to regret that Henry was not in orders, because his son Edward, another of your ecclesiastical

* See Moliere's *I'Avare*.

tical progenitors, was never either ordained, or intended for the church.

Edward VI. and his clergy were, by all accounts, very superior hands at a liturgy : and no wonder ; for, it seems, they “ were aided by the Holy Ghost.” [Mm] But on the subject of continuing the succession; they would appear to have been left to the uninspired dictates of their own minds ; and, accordingly, they went wrong. In what regards church-supremacy, Edward trode exactly in the footsteps of his father. “ He required all,” the historian of the Reformation informs us, (all) who held offices civil or ecclesiastical, to “ take out commissions from him in the “ first year of his reign.” No body disobeyed the royal mandate. And, among the rest came the Bishops, and took out such commissions as were granted in the former reign, by which they were to hold their bishoprics during pleasure, and were empowered, in the king’s name, as his delegates, to perform all the parts of the Episcopal function. It was, therefore, King Edward’s commission which they bore. They were authorized to administer the affairs of Christ’s kingdom, neither by an apostle, nor by a successor of the apostles, neither by a prophet, nor a prophet’s son, nor any person pretending to ecclesiastical authority from heaven ; but by a lay-sovereign of nine or ten years of age. If, by accepting commissions of *lieutenancy* from a boy, who sat upon the throne of England, they did not become the king’s ministers only, and did not thereby surrender the strong hold of divine institution, as the biographer† of Edward expresses it, we must infer, that there is no possibility of surrendering the *jus divinum* ; which, it may be, resembles *the character* in this respect, that, when it is
once

[Mm] See Notes.

† Heylin.

once possessed, it can never be forfeited, resigned, or lost.

“ On this footing,” says Mr. Anderson,* “ was prelaty settled, even in England, at the Reformation; and I challenge any man to produce documents, where, ever to this day, they have bettered its foundation, or settled it upon scripture authority, or divine institution.” I am not aware, that any person has accepted this challenge.— Perhaps it is considered to be one of the *meanest* things in the “ mean performance,” from which I have quoted it, and therefore is regarded with silent contempt. But, to tell the truth, a clear proof, that the Bishops of the present Episcopal churches of this island are *not* the spiritual descendants of those prelates, who received their commissions, empowering them to ordain, and perform all the other parts of the Episcopal function, from Henry VIII. and Edward VI. “ would,” as Lobo says of the Abyssinian genealogy, “ be extremely curious,” and very instructive and interesting to all who study matters of the kind.

But even *this proof*, come out when it will, could avail you nothing in the defence of your orders. For, the Bishops of England, in 1661, when “ they last contributed their friendly aid to preserve the Episcopal succession in Scotland,” were as much the king’s ministers, in every respect, as were those prelates, who took out commissions from Henry and Edward. “ Had they not,” says *the most unprincipled of all English Bishops*,† “ upon their knees solemnly and devoutly acknowledged, that they had, and

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“ held

* Defence, p. 194.

† Rebuffer Rebuffed, p. 23, with exemplary meekness and courtesy, thus characterises Bishop Hoadly.

“ held their *bishoprics*, and the possessions of the same, entirely, as well the spiritualities as temporalities thereof, *only* of the king’s majesty, and the imperial crown of his majesty’s realm ? This they had solemnly sworn.”* This their successors have solemnly sworn to this day.

It appears, then, that the Prelates of your church, are the lineal ecclesiastical descendants of all the sovereigns, male and female, of the House of Tudor, save only Henry VII. and his grand daughter Mary, and of all the sovereigns of the family of Stuart, who sat on the throne of Britain. Whether you are ashamed of those illustrious progenitors, I cannot tell. But they *do* stand in the line of *Episcopal succession* between you and our Lord’s apostles ; a fact, of which writers of your party take much less notice than it deserves.

In my next Epistle, I shall suggest an inference or two, which are, I think, fairly deducible from the facts now stated.

* Preservative, p. 33.

LETTER XXXIII.

IT is now heresy in the Church of Rome, and does not seem to be relished in some other churches, to say that a clergyman may cease to be a clergyman, and become a layman again : but it was not always so. There was a time, when, at Rome, and throughout the whole christian church, the Priest or Bishop of to-day might be a layman to-morrow ; and when this change was considered to be the effect of deposition. In 488, Felix II. required the clergy in Africa, who, during the Vandalic persecution, had suffered themselves to be *re-baptized* by the Arians, to do public penance so long as they lived ; and he reduced them to what was then called, lay-communion, which was not to be administered but only at the point of death. All the ancient Councils, not excepting the first Council of Nice, decided, that a clergyman may cease to be a clergyman ; for they speak of a deposed clergyman as removed out of the order of the clergy,*—as turned out of office,† as entirely deposed,‡ as fallen from his order,|| as ceasing to be
of

* Concil. Arlet. 1. Can. 13.

† Concil. Carthage. Sess. 4. Can. 48. ‡ Concil. Antioch. Can. 5.

|| Concil. Ephes. Can. 6.

of the number of the clergy :* Indeed early antiquity made no distinction between a deprived clergyman and a layman, but this, that, if a deprived clergyman, upon exhibiting signs of penitence and reformation, was restored to his sacred office, he was admitted without ordination ; whereas a layman having never been ordained, could perform no sacred function before “ imposition of hands.” Thus spake early antiquity on the subject of the *character impressed* ; and as it spake the language of reason and common sense, there is no cause to wonder at our meeting with the same sentiments, even in the church of Rome, in later times : for reason and common sense are confined to no particular age or church. Accordingly, a Spanish Bishop, at the Council of Trent, maintained, that a Bishop and his church are necessarily correlatives, like man and wife ; and that no footsteps can be found in all antiquity, where Bishops, who quitted their bishoprics, or were deprived of them, ever passed afterwards for Bishops, no more than a man, who had lost his wife, passed afterwards for a husband.†—This Spaniard seems to have been fully as *indelicate* as our Presbyterian Professor. But the Holy Council was not shocked with his indelicacy : nay, the Italian Bishops admitted the truth of what he stated. But they contended, that, in later times, it had been found for the service of God and the church, that there should be Priests without *titles*, and Bishops without a *diocese*, who had only the power and virtue of *order* in them ; that is, who could continue the *order* by ordaining other Bishops. By the way, it may have been from this Tridentine doctrine, that your church, after the Revolution, caught the idea of your College Bishops. But far be it from me to insinuate, that you have any illicit connexion

* Concil. Nicen. 1. Can. 6.

† See Fr. Paolo Hist. Concil. Trident. Lib. 8.

nexion with the Old Lady of Babylon, although you may have learnt some things from her !

We may, then, if we are to pay any regard to the sense of antiquity, or to the common sense of mankind, consider it to be indisputable, that a Bishop, who is deposed, is no longer a Bishop, and that deprivation converts a clergyman into a layman. From this, and from the incontrovertible facts, which were stated in my last Letter, I infer, that, as the English and Scottish Bishops at the Revolution were the lineal descendants of the King's Bishops in the reigns of Henry VIII. and his son, and not only derived, but had, on their knees, solemnly sworn that they derived their "authority, civil and *ecclesiastical*," from the "imperial crown of these realms," those of them who refused to take the oaths to William and Mary, the possessors, for the time being, of the imperial crown of this realm, *ceased to be Bishops*, when they were deprived by the *secular power their maker*, until they were again duly elected by the clergy and people of particular dioceses to be their Bishops.— Here I fix my foot ; and let the stoutest champion of High Church remove it, if he can. Hence I must consider Mr. Daubeny's reasoning, or rather his declamation, to be as puerile as it is insolent and ungrateful, where he compares the deprivation of the nonjuring clergy by the Legislature of the country, to "the attempt of a *lawless banditti*, who "had made a forcible entry into his parsonage, and, by "violence, driven him from the charge of his parish, to "deprive him of his pastoral character, because he had it "no longer in his power to feed his particular flock." [Nn]

That this is meant as a compliment to the Revolution
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Parliament, and the government of William and Mary, we cannot doubt, when we compare it with the reprehension of that government, by the same *zealous friend to the religious and civil liberties of his country*, which we meet with in the *Appendix* to his *Guide to the Church*, as quoted by you.* There we are assured, “that among the deprived
 “clergy were to be found some of the most pious, the
 “most learned, and most conscientious divines, that ever
 “adorned the Church of England; that the offence, for
 “which they were deprived, scarcely deserves the harsh
 “name of an offence,” (being only resistance of “the
 “powers that be, the ordinance of God”) and that the
 “government did itself no honour by depriving them.”

That the learning of several of those men, though it did not consist in an acquaintance with the spirit and design of christianity, and with the maxims of enlightened reason and sound philosophy, was yet very great;—that they understood Greek and Latin, and some of the Oriental Languages; that they had read the writings of the Fathers, and the history of the church (to what truly beneficial purpose is not yet known) their worst enemies have not denied. Whether their learning was never exceeded by the learning of any of the divines, who have, at various periods, adorned the Church of England, may very fairly be questioned. That they adhered, with a most *conscientious* obstinacy, to the fortunes of a tyrannical and senseless bigot to Popery, the enemy alike of the liberties and the religion of his country, all the while longing for, and expecting, his restoration to a government, which he had shewn himself incapable of administering (*his* restoration including *theirs* to their former offices and dignities, and, perhaps, their exaltation

* Vind. p. 419, 420.

altation to something higher) this also will be admitted without difficulty. And it will not be denied, that, if piety consist in confining the favour of God and the benefits of Christ's manifestation in the flesh to *themselves* and their little party, and in shutting the gates of heaven against all Protestants, who differed from them; in inventing and embracing, with enthusiasm, a *new* doctrine, never heard of before their time; I mean, that *their* baptism, and no other baptism, confers immortality on the souls of men, and (lest their adversaries should get off with annihilation, and thus escape the damnation of hell) that God, by an act of omnipotence, confers immortality on all English, Irish, and Scottish Protestants, who are not nonjurors, that they may be damned to eternity:* if, I say, piety consist in broaching, publishing, and defending such doctrines as these, which are enough to make "the ears of him that heareth them to tingle," and his hair to stand on end: then it will be universally allowed, that those learned and conscientious divines were the most pious men, that ever lived in England, or any where else; and that it is a great stain on the memory of William and Mary, that they did not cherish and protect such ecclesiastics as the apple of their eye. But, in reality, we whigs of the old stamp, who are equally hostile to despotism and to the "monstrous regiments" of the mob, and do not much value learning and piety, when they are unconnected with charity and peaceful submission to the powers that be, (we whigs) cannot but admire the gentleness and patience of the British government, in suffering its public and avowed enemies to exist in the country for a whole century, and to beget a succession of
vipers

* Mr. Dodwell, who first published this horrid tenet, was of the nonjurant laity, but was looked up to and adored by the clergy, as the great champion of the party, for a considerable time. His *peculiarities* are not *now* so warmly defended as they were heretofore.

vipers, who were ever watching for an opportunity of stinging its religion and its liberties to the heart : and Mr. Daubeny must excuse our calling upon him to produce another instance of such magnanimous forbearance, in the history of any government, ancient or modern, where the ruling power was so far superior in strength to its domestic foes.

As to the *pastoral character*, or spiritual commission of those divines, whom the Archdeacon eulogizes in terms so hyperbolical, he is under a mistake in thinking, that it was not taken away by their deprivation. It was *from* the secular power, as we have shewn, that they received it ; and *to* the secular power were they compelled to surrender it. Hence, the pretended axiom, which writers on your side so frequently bring forward on this subject, that “no government can take away what it did not give,” is altogether inapplicable to the case of your deprived clergy ; for ever since the reign of Henry VIII. the government of England *has* given to the Bishops of England their Episcopal powers, and every Bishop swears, on his knees, that “he has and holds his *bishopric*, and the possessions of the same, entirely, as well the spiritualities as temporalities thereof,” of the imperial crown of this realm. But your favourite axiom is not only inapplicable, but untrue. No government ever gave a man life ; but every government takes away the life of many, and lawfully too. It were strange, then, if it could not degrade a clergyman, on whom it had conferred clerical authority, into what it found him at first. And so thought the Rev. William Jones, who, in speaking of Dr. Dodd’s untimely death, not only complains of “the law, that puts a man to death for a simple fraud, which threatened no man’s life, nor endangered any man’s person or reputation,” but also

“ of

“ of the application of that law, which put a clergyman to death, *without being divested of his clerical character.*”*— Here the *indelibility of the character* is fairly given up by a zealous and able advocate of High Church. And if a clergyman *can be divested* of his clerical character, surely even Mr. Jones could not have mentioned any power, civil, or ecclesiastical, which is better able to divest a clergyman of his sacred character, than the power which invested him with it. Hence those, who received ordination from the deprived Bishops in England and Scotland *after* their deprivation, did not, in reality, receive Episcopal ordination, nor *could* they receive it from men so circumstanced, till the ordainers were re-elected the Bishops of particular dioceses; which the government of the country, so far as I know, did not prohibit.

I cannot help observing, by the way, that some writers of your party, as well as some of its friends on the bench of Bishops in England, have made one of the most ingenious discoveries that I have met with; for they have found out a striking likeness between *your church* after the Revolution, and the christian church of the first three centuries: a discovery, which I do not wonder that you extremely admire, and sometimes mention.

The church of the first three centuries never enjoyed the countenance and protection of the state, and never forfeited them, by resisting *the powers that were*. It saw many revolutions in the empire, many changes of the reigning families, many sovereigns murdered, and their successors appointed by a *banditti* fully more lawless than even our revolution Convention and Parliament, the Prætorian bands.

But

* Jones' Life of Dr. Horne, p. 58.

But whoever they were who reigned, however slender or unfounded their title, however profligate and abandoned their character, however barbarous their treatment of the disciples of Christ, still the primitive church obeyed the existing powers as the ordinance of God, and regularly offered up public supplications for kings and governors, and all who were actually in authority. Its clergy did not receive their commission from the secular power, and consequently, they could never forfeit it to that power. "They had and held neither spiritualities nor temporalities" of the Roman emperors, nor did they "perform their clerical functions in *their name*, in *their stead*, or as *their delegates*," and they did not become bound, as some of your ecclesiastical predecessors did, to abandon their clerical functions at the pleasure of the emperor.

"Look now on this picture, and on this?"

Did the Episcopal Church of Scotland, from the Revolution to the year 1788, ever answer, in one tittle, to the description now given of the situation and character of the primitive church? No, never! Did *your* Church take no concern in the translation of the imperial crown of this realm from one family to another? Did it submit quietly, amid all the revolutions of empire, to the existing powers? Did it offer up supplications for the sovereigns on the throne, and for all in authority under them? The very reverse. If you were in pursuit of a *contrast* to the primitive church, in almost every point of comparison, you need not go from home; you will find it in your own church.—Your church has, indeed, resembled the church of the first three centuries in one thing, I mean poverty; that is, its clergy has not been maintained by the state, which maintains no Diocesan Bishops in Scotland. But this places you

on no worse footing, than other bodies of dissenters, who have deserved better of the state. Your church has also been depressed, though it can scarcely be said to have enjoyed the honour of being persecuted, like the primitive church; unless a church can be said to be persecuted, which is restrained from doing mischief. But let me remark, that its poverty and depression have not been borne with the meekness and patience, and unconquerable charity towards them who depressed it, which were the glory of the poor and persecuted church of the first three centuries. And its impatience and violent resentment, which, so far as we can discover from the spirit that your *Vindication* breathes, are never likely to subside, are the more inexcusable, in those who profess to be christians, because its poverty, and the restraints imposed upon it by the state, were the punishment, (and, in the execution, a gentle punishment they were) of its disloyalty; a disloyalty which was never heard of in the primitive church, and was never exceeded in rancour and obstinacy, since the beginning of the world. Besides, the Episcopacy of Scotland, unlike the religion of the primitive church, was established by the most unpardonable treachery and perfidy, which were followed up by downright force; and it was thus established on the ruins of a form of christianity, which had been, for a considerable time, in legal and quiet possession of the place it held in the country: and, finally, it was supported by fine and imprisonment, confiscation of goods, hanging, burning, and such like; arguments not quite so christian as they are potent. The church, before the days of Constantine, was never established by law, nor in violation of law; nor was it exalted above its rivals by the means just now mentioned, and afterwards thrown down into a state of poverty and depression. Suffering was almost always its portion, and faith and patience its only support.

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What should give *your* church a better title, than belongs to the other bodies of dissenters in this land, to place itself beside the primitive church on the current of time, and as it is carried along, to cry out, *Nos poma natamus?* I cannot comprehend on what you found this exclusive right.—But I can easily account for your *claiming* it. This we may very warrantably impute to that pride, which is observed to distinguish all *great families*, that have fallen into poverty. If you had had no rich dignitaries among you, and had not been set in high places in time past, no more than our Seceders, Independents, and so forth, you would not be so apt to put us in mind of your *great relations*.—But this by the bye.

LETTER XXXIV.



“ AFTER the reforming *party* in this country had gone on, for a course of years, with much noise and tumult, establishing and altering their plans of church government, King James having succeeded to the crown of England, was enabled to put matters on a more *decent* and *regular* footing.” [Oo] You proceed to acquaint us, that His Majesty did this favour to his ancient kingdom by very *decent* means; for that he prevailed, (without much difficulty, I suppose) on three Presbyterian ministers, one of whom was the son of a superintendent, to renounce the religion of their country, to which, after due deliberation, they had solemnly engaged to adhere to the end of their lives; and to be instrumental in compelling their countrymen to embrace the king’s *new* religion, which, they knew, a great majority of them detested with all their heart, and would rather die than profess. The king, as you wisely remark, was thus “ enabled to put things on a more decent and regular footing;” for he kindled a flame in the country, which consumed peace, and good order, and the vi-

tals of christianity ; a fire which was not extinguished till the final expulsion of his wretched grandson, the last male of the House of Stuart that reigned, or ever will reign in Britain.

I confess, with no little shame and regret, that our reformation from Popery, and the final settlement of our plan of church government, were not effected without “ noise and tumult.” This, I apprehend, was owing, in some measure, to the opposition which our *reforming party* met with, first, from the adherents of the *decent and regular* establishment, from which, they had, like schismatics as they were, presumptuously departed ; and secondly, from those who desired to substitute a Protestant hierarchy in the room of the Popish, which had been demolished. Many untoward circumstances occurred to prevent the establishment of their favourite plan of ecclesiastical polity all at once. They were therefore content to approximate to it gradually. But that they *altered* their plans often, is what I never heard, till *You* arose to inform us of the fact.—Presbyterian parity was always what we would, in modern language, call the *principle* of all their measures respecting church government ; and, from our present model, I know of no very material deviation, but the appointment of superintendents. And even this appointment did not trench on parity in truth, so much as in appearance. For our superintendents were *subject* to the ecclesiastical courts, and accountable to them for their general conduct as ministers, and also their conduct in their superintendency.

I have acknowledged, with due humility and self-abasement, the disgraceful “ noise and tumult,” with which our reformers established their plan of church government.—And the shame which all ingenious Presbyterians must feel, when

when they think of that "noise and tumult," becomes quite overwhelming, when we contrast them with the peace and quiet, the unanimity and concord, the strict regard to truth and justice, humanity and the natural rights of men, and the feeling charity, with which Episcopacy was introduced, and supported in this country, in 1610 and 1661, and particularly, from the latter period down to the revolution.

I have no doubt that, from your pen, the christian world may confidently expect a full proof of the superior *decency* and *regularity* of the Episcopal model, when compared with Presbytery, although no such demonstration has ever yet appeared. But in hope that it will be published speedily, I shall, by way of anticipation, admit, that "King James was enabled to put matters upon a more decent and regular footing."

Yet amidst all the important truths which you unfold in the sentence, that adorns the beginning of this Presbyterian Epistle, there are some truths, which do not seem to have occurred to you, but which I must bring to your recollection, in pure justice to the memory of the first monarch of this island, who introduced proper Episcopacy into Scotland after the Reformation.

It is, then, as true as any thing you have ever said of King James in all your life, that his Majesty himself, sometime before his accession to the crown of England, was a Presbyterian, nay, a bigotted Presbyterian, if he was not as contemptible a liar as was ever to be found among those *borderer thieves*, to whom, in the superabundance of his royal courtesy, he likened some of his fellow Presbyterians.*—

* See Basilicon Doron.

Did you ever see the most gracious speech, which his sacred Majesty delivered (I really cannot say whether he read it or not) in the first General Assembly of the *Kirk*, which was holden after his marriage of chivalrous memory? It is well worth transcribing, on account of its admirable eloquence and strength of reasoning, and because it contains his Majesty's eulogium, in 1590, on the Church of England, at whose head he was placed in 1603. If you look into Calderwood's History, you will find the following oration recorded. "I praise God, that I was born in such a time, as
 " in the time of the light of the gospel, and that I am king
 " of a country, where there is such a kirk, the sincerest
 " kirk in the world, Geneva not excepted; seeing they keep
 " Pasche and Yule: what have they for them? They have
 " no institution for them. As for our neighbour kirk in
 " England, their service is an ill mumbled mass in English;
 " they want nothing of the mass but the liftings.* I charge
 " you, my good people, barons, gentlemen, ministers, el-
 " ders, that you stand to your purity; and exhort the peo-
 " ple to do the same: and I, forsooth, so long as I bruik
 " my life and crown, shall *maintain the same against all dead-
 " ly.*"

His Majesty faithfully kept this *voluntary* engagement, which no person required of him at the time, Presbytery having been established by law; for, he deprived "the sincerest kirk in the world, Geneva not excepted," a kirk that scorned to symbolize with Popery even in keeping Pasche and Yule, which were kept long before Popery existed; (he deprived it) of its legal establishment, to which himself had given his most solemn sanction; and in spite of
 his

* This is a defect, which the eucharistic service of the Scotch Episcopal Church has supplied. See Skinner's Lectures in Lent, Lect. 6.

his “good people, barons, gentlemen, ministers, elders,” he endeavoured to subvert the kirk from its foundation, and contrary to law, to build Episcopacy with “an ill mumbled mass in English” on its ruins. This truly christian and royal conduct of the Lord’s Anointed, which was not more obstinately than justly opposed, “put matters on a “decent and regular footing.” It disjointed the whole frame of his Majesty’s government in Scotland, and brought his person and authority under general contempt.

Exclusive of his breach of law, and his violation of his own solemn engagements (which, you know, are but *peccadillos* in so great and potent a monarch, especially as they were committed for the extension and support of *the true church*) King James committed only *one* error in his whole procedure in the introduction and establishment of Episcopacy in this country. To the *error*, into which this second Solomon was, somehow, betrayed, I shall have the honour of directing your attention in my next.

LETTER XXXV.

“ THE friendly aid of the Church of England, which it contributed for carrying on the apostolical succession in Scotland,” would have been, in 1610, as effectual as it was charitable and sisterly, if both the King and his English Bishops had known as well, what is indispensably necessary to “the carrying on of the apostolical succession,” as the Episcopal Church of Scotland has known it for something more than a century. But Spotiswood, Hamilton, and Lamb, lay under more than one canonical incapacity, which there was nothing done to remove ; and they could not, *on your principles*, be made Bishops, unless they had previously undergone a great change.* And,

I. To

* The fact, that Spotiswood was called the Archbishop of Glasgow, and Hamilton, and Lamb, the Bishops of Galloway and Brechin, before they were called to London to be consecrated, does not in the least militate with my argument. By calling them to London to be consecrated, the King acknowledged that, before that consecration, they were no Bishops ;—and, indeed, he is made to say so, in his speech, which he is reported to have delivered to them at their audience at Court. See Skinner’s Eccles. Hist. Vol. II. and Crawford’s Lives of the Chancellors of Scotland, p. 170.

I. To make them *christians* appears to me to have been indispensably requisite. How a person can be made a christian Bishop, who is not a christian man, far exceeds my utmost comprehension. Though a wolf cannot be made a sheep, as you wittily observe, to the great admiration of the Anti-jacobin, yet an infidel,* and even a Presbyterian, may become a christian. But it is expedient, one should think, to make a christian of him, before you attempt to make him a Bishop. Baptism ought, unquestionably, to precede consecration. So thought Cyprian, and that "great and respectable Council," the first Council of Nice,† and the composers of the Apostolical Constitutions; in a word, all that you account respectable in christian antiquity. A christian mitre on a Pagan's head, would be fully as ludicrous a spectacle, as a certain butcher's dog exhibited at one of the Theatres in London, while having his head adorned with his master's wig, [Pp] he was gravely looking at Garrick's inimitable representation of Hamlet; a spectacle, which "set" both the audience and the green-room "in a roar," at the most affecting part of a deep tragedy. Yet, if your principles have any foundation whatever in scripture or reason, the figures which Spotswood, Hamilton, and Lamb, presented to their countrymen, on their return from London in 1610, were not less grotesque. You cannot admit that they were christians, without admitting also, that Presbyterian baptism is valid; an

* Dr. Campbell's analogy (V. I. 358) is not made ridiculous by your wit. For, although our whole Episcopal Church should join the Primate in laughing at it, it is true, and it will ever be true, that till infidels become christians, they make no part of a Bishop's charge, which is a christian church; no more than wolves or foxes are properly the charge of a shepherd.

† See Can. 19.

[Pp] See Notes.

an admission which shakes your whole system to the foundation. What became of those men, when they went to the world of spirits, it would have puzzled Mr. Dodwell himself to determine. He would have been very unwilling either to annihilate or to damn three men, who had laid down their commission as Presbyters in the Church of Scotland (where they could not be baptized) and had, without christian baptism, taken out a commission of Episcopacy from King James. But how, on *his own scheme of salvation*, could he have disposed of them otherwise? It is to be regretted, that he did not take *their* case, in particular, into consideration, and publish the result for the instruction of the ignorant.

The consequences of sending down to Scotland three unbaptized persons, who pretended to ordain and consecrate other unbaptized sinners like themselves, are quite fearful. Were not all the ordinances of religion, which those men presumed to administer, utterly *invalid*, and consequently, unaccompanied by the blessing of God, for half a century? What multitudes, then, in this unfortunate country, must have gone to perdition, in the course of fifty long years, the rulers, priests, and people, not knowing all the while, till they went hence, that the Presbyterian baptism of Spottiswood, Hamilton, and Lamb, had ruined them all beyond redemption! But the most terrible consequence of all, is, that, when the present Episcopal clergy of Scotland look back to their spiritual progenitors of the seventeenth century, they can discern nothing but a number of pagans dressed in canonicals. If their ancestors after the flesh were unbaptized persons too, as all Presbyterians are; (and, I am much misinformed, if several of them have not this dreadful retrospect) then they have *nothing hereditary* to depend on for their admission into heaven; but must be obliged,

bliged, like those, who call themselves “clergy” of the establishment, to trust to “repentance toward God, and “faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ.”

2. It signifies little that Spotiswood, Hamilton, and Lamb, were not episcopally ordained Deacons and Presbyters before their consecration. As they were not christians, it would have been of no consequence, although they had been re-ordained Presbyters and Deacons a thousand times. To be sure, Bishop Andrews, who never thought of their original sin in wanting *christian* baptism, did object to their consecration, on the ground that they had not been Episcopally ordained Presbyters and Deacons. But he was overruled. The other Bishops thought that Presbyterian ordination would do. The truth is, churchmen were not much enlightened upon the subject at that time. They came to understand it better afterwards, in their progress from the manly and rational, the liberal and benevolent, spirit of the gospel, to the narrowness and haughty intolerance of that sectarian spirit, which arrived at its highest pitch of virulence, when the “contemptuous epithets” of High and Low Church came into ordinary use. King James was of the same mind with a majority of his English Bishops. He would not venture on *unchurching* all those christians, every where, who were not under the spiritual government of Bishops. In consequence of the King’s senseless delicacy, and the “modern liberality” of his English Bishops, you must either be silent, or acknowledge that your own professed principles are utterly subversive of the lofty claims which you advance, when we tell you, that you derive your orders from men, to the validity of whose baptism you yourselves object; and who arrived at the Episcopate *per saltum*, leaping all at once, without baptism, and without ordination, from paganism into Episcopal thrones.

thrones. If *they* were apostolic Bishops, in your sense of the term, the principles maintained by your church are of the most flexible nature, and therefore the most convenient principles in the world.

The breach in your succession, occasioned by the consecration of three Presbyterian ministers, who had been neither Episcopally baptized nor Episcopally ordained, is too manifest to be concealed or disguised, and too well authenticated to be called in question.

And here, let me ask by the way, whether all the Episcopalians in Scotland, for half a century, were sent to perdition, merely because James VI. and his Bishops, with the exception of the excellent Bishop Andrews, were ignorant of the necessity of re-baptizing and re-ordaining Spotiswood, Hamilton, and Lamb, or had too much idle delicacy or "modern liberality" to insist upon it? Do you believe in your heart, that it depended on King James, whether the means of grace should be effectual for the purposes of salvation in his ancient kingdom of Scotland, or not? Is the conveyance of the benefits of Christ's incarnation restricted to a channel, which a fool, or a madman, or an infidel, (any one of whom may be born to a throne) may choke up when *he* pleases? If it be, then we must conclude with the apostle, "Our faith is vain: we are yet in our sins."

LETTER XXXVI.

YOUR Church has been unfortunate in its applications abroad * for aid in preserving its apostolical succession.

We have seen that, in England itself, where these applications were made, the succession from the apostles had been interrupted more than once,—no man can tell how often. And you sent thither two *corps* to be converted into Bishops, which had more than one *vitium nature*, that no means were used for correcting. We have examined the *corps* of 1610, and have found that, in the state in which it was sent to London, and subjected to Episcopal discipline, it was utterly incapable of consecration; for nothing surely is more indisputable, than that the *character*, whether, when *impressed*, it be *indelible* or 'not, must have a proper subject, otherwise impressed it cannot be. Would you press your seal on flint, or on boiling water, or on train oil, and expect it to leave an impression? But this, I contend,

* We shall see, by and by, that it was as unfortunate in the means it employed for the same purpose at home.

tend, would not be, in any measure, more senseless, on High Church principles, than to attempt to consecrate a person a christian Bishop, who has received nothing but Presbyterian baptism, and Presbyterian ordination. This, I have observed repeatedly, was the sense of many of the Fathers, and of the most respectable ancient councils. It was the sense of the Church of England at the restoration, and, I suppose, has been so ever since. And, if *your* principles be well founded, it is reason and common sense.

Of all the Bishops in Scotland, who were consecrated before the civil wars and the triumph of the covenant, there was only Sydserv to be found in 1661, when the restoration of Episcopacy was resolved on. This man expected to be Primate of Scotland. His hopes were not extremely presumptuous; but they were disappointed. A certain Presbyterian "parson" was preferred to that high station, no doubt for reasons which Mr. Rhind, who styles him *the Venerable*, expresses fully in that one comprehensive word. While this truly *venerable* clergyman figured away at court, at the expence of his Presbyterian countrymen, whose agent and solicitor he had been appointed, he managed the interests of his constituents with such uprightnes and honour, and exhibited, to the king and his ministers, so many proofs of his inflexible integrity and truth, that Charles II. who, in bestowing posts of dignity and other marks of his royal favour, adhered most sacredly to the rule, "*detur dignissimo,*" could not but listen to his applications,—for what? For his Majesty's protection and support of Presbyteriany, which *after* the restoration, the king had solemnly promised to his Scottish subjects, [Qq] and Mr. Sharp was sent to solicit? No! but—for the Primacy to himself, and

and the benefits of Episcopacy to this highly favoured nation.

After the Court had fully resolved to restore "the ancient establishment, of which we now see only the venerable remains," the first difficulty which presented itself, was that of finding proper men to be the Episcopal clergy. This was a difficulty of no inconsiderable magnitude. It occasioned long deliberation, and some debate in the cabinet, and among public men elsewhere. Nay, if we may judge from the selection that was actually made, it was not merely *difficult* to find proper men; it was *impossible*. At last, however, Sydeserf was nominated to the See of Orkney; and Sharp and Leighton, Hamilton and Fairfoul, who were all Presbyterian ministers, and had been covenanters in the day of the power of the covenant, were pitched upon for consecration. They were actually consecrated on the 15th day of December 1661, and sent down, with all convenient speed, to take possession of their respective Sees, to colonize this country with Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, and thus "to put matters" once more "on a *decent* and regular footing. [Rr].

Sharp and Leighton had been Presbyterially baptized, and strictly educated Presbyterians, and also ordained Presbyterian ministers.

Hamilton and Fairfoul had received, it is not improbable, a kind of Episcopal baptism, unless, perchance, the midwife had administered that ordinance to them; and they had received as good Episcopal ordination, as Scotland could furnish at the time; which we have seen, † was
on

[Rr] See Notes.

† Letter xxxv.

on your own principles, none of the best.—While these two men were on their way to their Episcopal seats, they might well join the Trojan hero, and say,

“ Per various casus, per tot discrimina rerum,”

“ Tendimus in Latium”——

for they had first been Episcopal clergymen, then Presbyterian ministers, who, as covenanters, distinguished themselves by the pretended warmth of their zeal, even in a zealous age: and, finally,

“ As a hare, whom hounds and horns pursue,

“ Pants to the place, from which at first she flew,”

they returned to where they set out; laid their heads on the soft and balmy bosom of Episcopacy, and there laughed at Presbytery and the covenant, or cursed them, and there breathed their last. Whatever reprehension the characters of those men may have received in the writings of Presbyterians, no person, that I have heard of, has accused them of cherishing the *spirit of martyrdom* to excess.

Sheldon, and the other English Bishops in 1661, were not so well satisfied about the validity of Presbyterian orders, as were James VI. and his Bishops in 1610. The truth is, though James hated the religion of his youth, which he promised and swore to defend, and publicly applauded as the *purest* in the world; his antipathy, which was occasioned chiefly by the spirit of liberty which Presbytery breathes, and the intractable character of the clergy of his day, was not so virulent as that which the English Bishops entertained against it in the reign of his grandson. He did not love Presbytery, because the Presbyterians (such was the temper of that rough age) had not, on all occasions, behaved to Him suitably to his own notions of the reverence

rence and submission due from subjects to their anointed sovereign, and because "no Bishop, no King" was one of his political axioms. But he never took it into his head to consider Presbytery to be *unlawful*; and he did not think it politic (for he was a *great* politician) to offend the reformed churches abroad. On the other hand, the English Episcopacy in 1661 was but newly recovered from the ruin, in which Presbytery had involved it during the civil wars. Who can be surprized then, that Sheldon and his colleagues understood the canons, relating to ordination, in a sense somewhat different from the interpretation imposed upon them by James VI. and his Bishops in 1610? We often see, that policy and resentment have influence in criticism, as well as in the conduct of life.

But are not you astonished, that the English Bishops in 1661, who were enraged against Presbytery, overlooked the flaw in the ordination of Hamilton and Fairfoul as Priests and Deacons? Their orders were derived from men, who, if any regard at all be due to the canons, or to the opinion of Cyprian and of the church of which he is the apostle, were never ordained themselves; and consequently, if it be true that *ex nihilo nihil fit*, could not ordain others, no more than three blacksmiths can ordain a fourth blacksmith a Bishop. Their "authors and predecessors" of 1610 were neither christian Deacons, nor christian Priests, nor christian men. How, then, in the name of common sense, could they be christian Bishops, and transmit the apostolic commission to Hamilton and Fairfoul, or to you? Your orders would have been as valid, in your own acceptation of that unscriptural term, if they had descended to you from the apostles through Elagabalus or Malcolm Canmore.

The English Bishops insisted on the re-ordination of Sharp

and Leighton, but spake nothing of christening them over again. Leighton submitted, easily, to this; not because he was eager to put on a mitre, but because he had good sense enough, and a sufficient acquaintance with scripture, and the writings of early antiquity, to know, that it was a matter of no consequence, whether he submitted to it or not. [Ss] But—who would have thought it? Sharp submitted to re-ordination with great reluctance! So scrupulous and delicate was *his* conscience, good upright man! that nothing, I presume, but the Primacy alone, by his acceptance of which he excluded “some hot man, whose violence must have ruined *religion* and the country,” could have overcome his reluctance. His Episcopal ordination, as a Priest and a Deacon, was a bitter pill. But there was no help; swallow it he must. Without being first Deacon Sharp, and then Priest Sharp, he could not be Archbishop Sharp. But he was soon revenged on Sheldon, or rather, on the Episcopal Church of Scotland, for cramming this *bolus* down his throat. For, when the new made Bishops came down to this country, they consecrated six covenanters, without subjecting them to the *new birth*, which Leighton and Sharp had been obliged to submit to. As for re-baptizing those covenanters, the necessity of that operation to the salvation of the clergy and all under their charge, was not known in Scotland, till after the Revolution: at any rate, no body chose to incur the nick-name of the Deucalion of the world, by re-baptizing heretics and schismatics. Hence Sharp and Leighton, as well as the six Bishops whom they and their colleagues consecrated soon after their return from London, were nothing but Presbyterian christians, otherwise *pagans*, as your ecclesiastical dictionary has it, to the day of their death.

Upon

Upon the whole subject of this epistle and the last, you are concerned to prove, that the two consecrations of Scottish Bishops in 1610 and 1661, did, *ipso facto*, supply every defect, and remove every incapacity in the persons consecrated, *virtually* re-baptizing them, and ordaining them Presbyters and Deacons, *agreeably to the canons*. We shall not, I suspect, be soon confounded by the production of this proof. But, till it be published, you might suffer us to maintain, that, unless the violation of the canons, and a manifest departure, in practice, from the leading principles of your church in what regards the conveyance of *authority*, imply no breach in your Episcopal succession, that succession *has failed*; and that your clergy are the successors of the apostles, merely because they have come after them in point of time, and act under the same divine commission, “Go ye, and teach all nations.”

That of 1661 is not, however, the *last* interruption, which has befallen your Episcopal succession. We have still to take notice of the breach implied in our *Lecturer's argumentum ad hominem*. And my object is, not so much to defend that *argument*, as to enquire whether You, and your potent allies, have refuted it.

LETTER XXXVII.

THE Anti-jacobin affects to regard with great contempt the Lecturer's *argumentum ad hominem*. But, whatever the feelings were, which that argument excited in the learned Critic's breast, they were not, I will answer for it, those of contempt. No controvertist is to be believed, who affects to *despise* an argument, which puts him in a passion.

“ That masterly Critic,” as the Editor of the Anti-jacobin is pleased to call the Reviewer of Dr. Campbell's Lectures, says of the *argumentum ad hominem*, that it is “ a *pitiful* mixture of sophistry and ridicule, which breathes “ the genuine spirit of that licentious philosophy, which “ derives all authority, civil and ecclesiastical, from the suffrages of the people, and has been successfully employed “ on the Continent, to subvert christian churches.” It is here, I suppose, that the “ Critic” set *you* the example of insinuating, that “ Dr. Campbell entertained a favourable “ opinion of the sentiments expressed by some of the most “ insidious enemies of christianity.” And, indeed, it can admit of no doubt, that the writer can be no other than a dis-

disciple of Voltaire, and one of the *Illuminati*, who dares to hold up to ridicule the nonsense of High Church, and to point the finger of scorn at a ridiculous blunder, committed in a moment of consternation and perplexity, by a desperate faction, whose hopes of recovering the importance and the possessions, which they had lost, were built upon the probable subversion, by the restoration of a furious Popish bigot and tyrant, of the religion and liberties of their country!—It is true, that “modern philosophy derives all authority, civil and ecclesiastical, from the suffrages of the people.” But is this a distinctive mark of *licentious* philosophy? Or, is it a peculiar doctrine of *modern* philosophy? I cannot think it. It was, as we have seen,* in so far as the derivation of ecclesiastical authority is concerned, the philosophy of the apostles of Christ. It was the philosophy of the primitive church for the first six centuries, and the philosophy of the church of Rome till the institution of the Conclave. It was, in civil concerns, the philosophy of ancient Greece and Rome, and of the Convention Parliaments of England and Scotland at the Revolution: and, if I do not misapprehend things egregiously, it is that very philosophy, on whose principles the British Constitution is founded, which is thought to be not the worst that ever was framed.

Perhaps, in what follows, our Critic repeats the same invective in different words, that he may suit it to all tastes, and make it level to all comprehensions. He says that the “Lecturer’s principles,” as unfolded in his *argumentum ad hominem*, “are those of the friends of the people, and other modern reformers in church and state.” Superlatively blessed are we, who have a church and state, that need no

* Letter xxv.

reformation, having arrived at the very pinnacle of optimism ! But still more blessed, if possible, are the slavish adorers of civil and religious despotism ; for in the present age, the madness and extravagant outrages of Jacobinism have furnished to those senseless and servile declaimers, a new and popular argument in support of passive obedience and non-resistance in church and state !

Next we hear, that the *Lecturer's* reasoning "is such as " would disgrace a school-boy, who had ever looked into a " *Treatise of Logic.*" This is so *fine* a criticism, that you cannot deny yourself the pleasure of quoting it at length, and adopting it ;* which, in my opinion, you ought not to have done, till you had given your readers some slender proof of your knowing what Logic is.

Finally, all the gentle readers of the *Anti-jacobin* are solemnly warned, on pain of being deceived, perhaps to their ruin, to distrust the fidelity of *all* the *Lecturer's* quotations, whether against *Popery* or *Prelacy* ; and thus this great champion places his immortal *Ægis*, not only before his immediate parent, but also before his great grandmother of Rome : a spectacle, that must delight every pious heart.†

What more natural than, after all this, to expect an entire and decisive refutation of an argument, at once so contemptible in itself, and so evidently the offspring of disgraceful ignorance and licentious principles ? It is, however, much easier to load an argument with opprobrious epithets, and its author with all kinds of abuse, than to

re-

* *Vind.* p. 403.

† *Anti-jac.* Vol. IX. p. 241, 242, 246, 247.

refute it. Let us see how the logical Anti-jacobin and his Primate get quit of the Lecturer's objection to the orders of the Scotch Episcopal church. But let us begin with fairly stating the "contemptible" argument itself.

Dr. Campbell, in his Eleventh Lecture, calls the attention of his pupils to the introduction, into the church, of *loose* or *absolute* ordinations, as they are denominated; by which some persons were ordained Presbyters, and others Bishops, without assignment to a local charge. The Lecturer deemed such ordinations an abuse, unless in very rare cases; nay, he thought them farcical. And in this he contends, he is not singular. Accordingly he adverts to the measures, that were resorted to, for checking loose ordinations; and he particularly mentions the Sixth Canon of the Council of Chalcedon, which pronounces all such ordinations not merely unlawful, but absolutely void and null, that is, no ordinations at all. This Canon he illustrates and defends with his usual ingenuity. And he appeals to the earliest christian practice, to the writings of Cyprian, to the decisions of Popes of high antiquity and great character, and, finally, to the dictates of reason and common sense, two authorities, which are somewhat more ancient than the earliest Councils, and even the Fathers: and he insists that the language of them all is, that, as you cannot make a man a husband, to whom you give no wife, so you cannot, by any liturgical forms, make a man a Bishop, to whom you give no flock to superintend and feed. Hence, he takes occasion to remark, in a passage which he first read to his pupils as a note, that on the principles of the Scotch Episcopal Church itself (principles, which he himself disclaims explicitly) the validity of the orders, which it derives from its College Bishops after the Revolution, is not defensible, because not one member of your Episcopal Col-

lege had a particular relation, as a Bishop, to any diocese upon earth. Their consecration, therefore, by Bishops, who themselves had no dioceses, [Tt] he considers to be as farcical, as if their ordainers had pretended to make them husbands without joining them to wives, or shepherds, without giving them the charge of flocks, or kings, without setting them over any subjects. From this "pitiful mixture of sophistry and ridicule," the Lecturer infers, that those College Bishops, those *nulla tenentes*, those Utopian Prelates, as some of your own writers sarcastically denominate them, were only Presbyters *after* their pretended consecration, as they were *before* it; and, consequently, that the present Scottish Bishops derive their orders, not from such Presbyters as those of our church, who are Parochial Bishops, but from Presbyters, to whom a part only of the ministerial powers is committed, which part does not include the power of ordaining.

This is, in substance, the Lecturer's *argumentum ad hominem*. Let us, now, attend to the *reasoning*, by which you and the Literary Cenfor endeavour to repel this attack on your orders.

[Tt] See Notes.

LETTER XXXVIII.



THE Anti-jacobin is a theological combatant, who, notwithstanding his bold looks, and big words, and menacing gestures, is, at bottom, I suspect, somewhat of a coward. He is, manifestly, afraid to enter the field alone against our deceased Champion. Do but observe, what a number of formidable allies he summons to his aid; all the Generals of Great Britain, with an Irish Peer at their head, armed Surgeons, Bishops and Priests from beyond the Tweed, the whole established Church of Scotland; and to make quite sure, he attempts to force the Lecturer himself to turn his arms against his own argument. Observe, also, how sily he endeavours, like his *favourite* hero, the present dispenser of thrones and principalities in Europe, to persuade all his auxiliaries, that it is their interest to range themselves around his standard, for that he is engaged in fighting *their* battles, as well as his own.

He first calls upon the Earl of Inchiquin, whose Irish Peerage was created in 1654, when no part of Ireland was subject to Charles II. "to look to himself, for Dr. Campbell has proved his patent to be a farcical deed."

Now,

Now, this was done, before Mr. Anti-jacobin's kindly warning could have reached my Lord Inchiquin; for that noble Earl was, by George III. to whom Ireland was subject at the time, created Marquis of Thomond, in 1800; whether before or after his Lordship read the "Lectures on Ecclesiastical History," I will not presume to say; but, at any rate, it was before the Anti-jacobin publicly admonished him of the imminent danger, to which his old patent was exposed. It was a lucky thing for the most noble Marquis, and, I presume has received the congratulations of all his friends upon his good fortune, that he became independent of Charles II.'s peerage *at large*, much about the time that Dr. Campbell, with a licentiousness, that threatened to reduce all the different orders in society to a dead level, demonstrated his first patent to be "a far-cical deed."

The patent, which creates a gentleman a peer of the realm, and gives him the name of some place or other, without office or relation to the place, or any authority over its inhabitants, or connection with them either spiritual or temporal,*—and the consecration of a Bishop, which empowers him to enter on the charge of a diocese; these two are so exactly similar in their nature, uses, and ends, that I confess myself unable to parry this dextrous thrust at the Lecturer's *argument*; and so, we must even let it perish.

But lo! here come "the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war." The whole body of Generals, Lieutenant-

* The titles of Peers were, originally, names of office or trust in particular districts. The title, and the name of the place, are still continued, though the office be no more.

nant-Generals, and Major-Generals in Britain, are advancing, “pride in their port, defiance in their eye,” to defend their rank and titles; for “Dr. Campbell has proved that their several promotions are no better than farcical deeds.”

Now, I will not dissemble, I verily believe those gentlemen were in the Lecturer’s view, when he brought forth his unlucky *argument*. The analogy between a General, Major-General, or Lieutenant-General, without an army to command, and a Bishop without a diocese to oversee, is so obvious and striking, that it *must* have occurred to so “complete an analogist.” And who can deny, that it is as expedient to raise eighty or a hundred English Priests to the Episcopal dignity, to be ready to supply vacancies in the national Episcopate, and assist the present bench, by taking the command of different portions of their dioceses; as it is to bestow the rank and title of General on more officers than you have separate armies to lead? But, for some cause or other, this plan has never been actually adopted in England. Although, in that country, they have more Generals than armies, yet they never have more Bishops than dioceses. This seems to me to be quite unaccountable. Could *you* inform us, why they have not always four or five score Bishops consecrated before hand, to reward merit by at least giving it rank, though it should not be employed in actual service, and to have always a supply of Bishops ready, when any of their present Graces and Lordships shall happen to become unfit for service, or have occasion for sending dignified missionaries into distant parts of their provinces and dioceses? In ancient times, churches were not so improvident as they are now become. At Ephesus, in the days of the apostles, in the church which the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews addresses, and in almost all the other churches named in the New Testament, they

they had a plurality of Bishops or leaders.—This flays the Lecturer's *argumentum* a second time, and evinces, beyond dispute, the propriety of appointing shepherds to no flock, labourers to no work, overseers to no oversight; and of giving it in charge, amidst prayers and other religious offices, to reverend gentlemen to be diligent in—doing nothing.

But here comes another formidable phalanx, I mean, the professors of Medicine and Surgery, who have the credit of killing, to a considerable amount, as well as generals. The diplomas of those professional gentlemen, when they receive academical degrees, do, it must be owned, come up entirely to the point in dispute.

The Lecturer argues against loose ordinations, urging, that they were not known in the purest and best times, that they were condemned by councils, and Popes, and other ecclesiastics of great name, and that they are, in themselves, absurd, implying a contradiction. Yet this same Lecturer himself, this vender of “contemptible mixtures of sophistry and ridicule,” did often put his signature, as Gymnasiarch of Marischal College, to the diplomas of surgeons and physicians, by which they were authorized, “if they kept out of London and Edinburgh,” to cure patients *at large*, or to kill them, as it should happen! This inconsistency, of which the smart Anti-jacobin clearly convicts him, is altogether indefensible. Does not all the world know, that as, both in ancient and modern times, Bishops have been ordinarily appointed to the charge of particular parishes or dioceses, so physicians and surgeons have been ordinarily empowered, by their diplomas, to take charge of the life and limbs of all the inhabitants of particular districts, which are specially named in those instruments; and that it is as expedient to “tie a physician unto a particular dis-

“district, as to tie a Bishop unto a particular flock ?” The cases are as like as a couple of eggs.

Behold the third *coup de grace* which our “masterly Critic” gives the Lecturer’s “contemptible” argument, in imitation of the royal youth of Macedon, when he was drunk ;

“ And thrice he slew the slain.”

Yet still he appears to discover some signs of life in the argument, and dispatches it again and again. He tells us, that a Bishop, translated from one See to another, is, *in transitu*, Bishop of neither, and therefore a Bishop at large ; the case of a Prelate passing from one See to another, being exactly parallel to that of a Prelate, who is ordained to no See at all.

After this we are given to understand, that our Lecturer has furnished to the Church of Rome, a new argument against the validity of all English ordinations ; for, it is well known that Parker, the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, in the reign of Elizabeth, whether he was consecrated in the Nag’s Head tavern or not, was consecrated somewhere, by four Bishops, who had no dioceses at the time.*

This, also, is a case in point ; for Parker, like your
Col-

* This is a humble attempt to repel an attack, which Dr. Campbell does not make in his Lectures. He takes no notice of the fact, that the ordainers of the College Bishops had no dioceses. Yet the Anti-jacobin, conscious that the ordination of his College Bishops is liable to this objection, strives to obviate it, although it did not lie in his way.

College Bishops, was ordained to no particular or local charge, and his ordainers had not only been deprived, but were designated to no dioceses. But, to tell the truth, so obstinate a schismatic was the Lecturer, that he would have paid very slender regard to this potent argument. Like the rest of us, "wicked whigs," as Voltaire calls us, "he did not value a straw, whether Parker was consecrated in "a tavern or cathedral," and was very little concerned to defend the validity of all English ordinations, knowing well, as every intelligent man in the nation does, that English Bishops derive their authority to "perform all parts of the "Episcopal function" from the king and the law, and not from the apostles by Episcopal succession, and that, provided they be "called and sent by men having legal authority in the congregation to send ministers into the Lord's "vineyard," *their* succession can never fail. He would have quietly permitted the Church of Rome to make what use of this *new* argument she pleases, being aware, that if she undertake to defend the validity of all her own ordinations, she will have employment for a long time.

But pray, Mr. Anti-jacobin, is it one of your theological axioms, that Parker's consecration was indisputably canonical? You have said nothing to prove it so, but only that the consecrating Bishops had no charges at the time, that is, they were no Bishops; and that its regularity is essential to the validity of all English ordinations down to the present time. Is not this strange reasoning? The regularity of Parker's ordination is essential to the validity of all English ordinations since the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth; *ergo*, Parker's ordination was regular! Nothing was done in England, that you may not prove to have been done as it ought, by this mode of argumentation.—But your design here is easily penetrated. You find the Lecturer's

rer's argument a little unmanageable, and cannot repel it yourself. Therefore you attempt to rouse against it the indignation of the whole body of clergy of the Church of England. This is *artful* enough: but it is not *magnanimous* nor *brave*.

Suspecting, that the tremendous multitude of Peers, Generals, Surgeons, and English secular clergy, which he draws up against the *argument*, may be defeated, the learned Critic has a *corps de reserve*, consisting of the greater number, as he says, of the Fellows of the English Universities, who, he informs us, must, "by the statutes of many of the colleges, be in Priests' orders."—Have the Fellows of the English Universities no charge of the religion and morals of the youth, who are educated at those Universities? and do they not consider them to be under their inspection as christians, as well as students of philosophy and mathematics?—But what has the Lecturer to do with the statutes of English Colleges? Did he ever undertake to "defend them against all deadly?" Can nothing be absurd, that is to be found in England? The founders of Colleges there may have had many good reasons for committing the education of youth to clergymen. That body of men has, in all ages, had no contemptible share of the learning of the times; in some, they had almost the whole: and, if a public teacher be in holy orders, it forms a security for his neither daring, nor being disposed, to debauch the religious principles of his pupils. But at any rate, it is strange reasoning, to defend loose ordinations on the plea, that, by the statutes of several of the Colleges in the English Universities, the fellows there are ordained to the charge of no flock! You might as well insist on the propriety of condemning the Professors of all Colleges to celibacy,

bacy, because, by the foundation of Wadham College, the Professor must be a bachelor.

But the whole world is, in the end, roused to arms against the Lecturer's *argumentum ad hóminem*. The very church, to which himself belonged, is brought forward to knock it on the head! This, I acknowledge, is but fair, if what you tell us be true, I mean, that he was at secret enmity with his own church all his life. But I scarcely think, that "the sincerest kirk in the world, Geneva not "excepted," is in a state of hostility with its Lecturer on the subject under consideration. It does, indeed, admit persons in orders to theological Professorships; nay, it does not admit to such Professorships any person who is not in orders. What then? Is it a *ministerium vagum*, that our church gives to Professors of divinity? a *ministerium nec loco fundatum, nec auctoritate munitum*? Does the Anti-jacobin write under the impression, that his readers are all idiots? Does not every body know, that, in this country a Theological Professorship is a sacred office in a particular University; and that the duties of it are the *cura animarum* and the education for the ministry, of all the youth in the district, who have a view to the pastoral care; and that those duties embrace all the sacred offices of the christian ministry, excepting only the celebration of baptism and the eucharist? And does not the Anti-jacobin know, that the *literæ formatae*, with which our students leave the divinity schools, must bear testimony to their religious and moral deportment, as well as to the progress they have made in their studies, otherwise they would not be sustained by any of our ecclesiastical courts? Of all this, I have no doubt, our Critic was perfectly aware, when he reviewed Dr. Campbell's Lectures. And yet he says, that in appointing

pointing ordained Professors of divinity to the theological chairs, our “ Church is guilty of all the absurd conduct “ attributed by Dr. Campbell, to Doctors Paterfon, Rose, “ and Douglas, soon after the Revolution !”

There remains yet one combatant more, whom the Anti-jacobin attempts to arm against the Lecturer’s terrific *argumentum ad hominem*,—on whose appearance in the field, I shall make some remarks in my next.

LETTER XXXIX.



WHO would have expected our Lecturer himself to be pressed into the service of the Anti-jacobin and his Primate, for the purpose of destroying his own argument? This shews wonderful address; but at the same time it betrays some degree of fear. And, you must both pardon me for saying, it shews unnatural cruelty, fully as unnatural cruelty, as if the giants, who heaped Ossa upon Pelion, had compelled Jupiter to point his thunder against Minerva.

There is a consideration which, in my opinion, should have dissuaded you from having recourse to this *ruse de guerre*. What if neither the Lecturer himself, nor anybody else, be able to beat down his *argumentum ad hominem*? You have surely heard of a man raising more evil spirits than he could lay. It is quite possible to bring forward an argument, which the author himself cannot refute. If you deny this, you argue in support of universal scepticism. And allow me to remark, that though a writer's reasoning may rebuke his practice, yet his practice does not, in all cases,

cases, invalidate his reasoning. *Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor.* If the Lecturer's conduct was not, in all cases, consistent with his reasoning, his doctrine is not *thereby* proved to be false. All that is proved by this lamentable discrepancy is, that he could *preach* better than he *practised*, and *reason* better than he *acted*; a case, probably, not altogether unexampled in the Scotch Episcopal Church, nor among the sage Critics, who write in the Anti-jacobin Review. Hence, what you are graciously pleased to call "the Lecturer's *argumentum ad hominem* retorted on himself,"* is mere personality, without so much as the shadow of argument.

But by what mode of interpreting the Lecturer's conduct, can it be made to demonstrate, that "he did not believe one word of the satirical declamation, which he poured forth against the *indelibility* of the *character*, and "the orders that you derive from your College Bishops?"

He resigned the theological chair, and the office of *Lecturer of Gray Friars*, (for he was only a Lecturer, having no charge but that of preaching; a fact which you well knew, although you have not thought fit to inform your readers of it :) and, when he sent his resignation to the Presbytery, he intimated, in a letter that drew tears from every eye, that he was far from meaning to resign the character of a minister of the gospel, and servant of Christ; a character in which he gloried; a character which he would never resign, but with his breath; a character, which he did not intend to retain as a mere title; for, if he should be able to do any real service, either in defence, or in illustration, of the christian cause, he should think it his honour,

* Vindic. Index. p. 534.

nour, as well as his duty, and the highest gratification of which he was capable, to be so employed. Is *this* a declaration, which men, sincerely professing godliness, could make the subject of jesuitical quibbling and petulant satire?*

But quibbling and satire were never more senselessly, as well as impiously employed, than against this declaration. What is there in it inconsistent with the ridicule, which our liberal and enlightened professor pours on the idea of a Bishop ordained to the charge of no diocese, a pastor set apart to feed no flock? Have you lived so long, and written so much, without learning to distinguish between a minister of the gospel and servant of Jesus, and a Bishop or pastor? Every Bishop is a minister of the gospel; but every minister of the gospel is not a Bishop. Apostles, prophets, evangelists, teachers, workers of miracles, helps, governments, interpreters, they who had the gifts of healing, and those who spake with tongues, in the apostolic church, were all ministers of the gospel; but there was not a Bishop among them.

I am not much surprized at *your* want of discrimination; you are well enough for a Scottish Bishop. But a person, like the Anti-jacobin, who, if I may so speak, keeps open shop for the sale of philological and metaphysical distinctions, should have known long ago, that a man may be a minister of the gospel, who is not a pastor, and that he may choose to write in the character of a servant of Christ, after he has laid down the character of a Bishop. This, I say, the Literary Censor *should* have known, before he sat down to criticize the works of so learned a philologist,

* Ah! theological controversy; what hast *thou* to answer for?

gift, and so acute a metaphysician, as the late Dr. Campbell. But the man was in a passion, and so were you all. No wonder! The Lecturer has, in few words, made the idea of the validity of the orders you derive from your College Bishops perfectly ridiculous *on your own principles*, and given it a blow, which it will never recover.

“ If the Lecturer had been *alive*, you would have wished “ to ask him,” (but it is *safer* to catechize him, now that he is *dead*;) “ what material difference there is between a “ man’s retaining the title, after resigning the charge, and “ accepting of the title at first without a charge ?”*

This, in reality, is not a question *ad hominem*. When Dr. Campbell resigned the pastoral charge as Lecturer of Gray Friars, he also resigned the title of pastor. The title he retained (and he would not have spoken of *retaining the character*, if he had considered it to be *indelible*) belongs equally to all who serve the gospel in any way whatever, whether by preaching, writing in its defence or illustration, teaching, &c. He is so far from saying, in his Letter to the Presbytery, that he meant to act as “ a Bishop at “ large,” that he says the very reverse: for he informs his brethren, that for the discharge of pastoral duties, his “ decline, both in body and mind, had altogether unfitted “ him.” It was, therefore, the character of a minister of the gospel, and servant of Christ, that he retained, not that of a christian Bishop or pastor. But there was this material difference between *our* Lecturer, after he resigned his charge, and *your* College Bishops, who as College Bishops, never had a charge, that *he was ordained*, and ordained by a class of Bishops *who had not been deposed*; where-

* Vind. p. 411.

as *they*, if any regard be due to the sense of antiquity, or to the principles of common sense, were never in Episcopal orders, having been farcically ordained to no charge, that is, appointed to do nothing, by men, who had no Episcopal powers whatever, having been deposed by the government of the country, and therefore “put out of the “order of Bishops.”

You lay down a hypothesis, without pretending that it has any the least foundation in truth, and then you reason upon it against the Lecturer's *argumentum ad hominem*, and draw your conclusions with as bold and dictatorial an air, as if the premises were self-evident, or had been clearly proved. The decisive tone, also, in which you fix the meaning of Dr. Campbell's words, deserves some notice.— You say, that “his retaining the character of a minister “of the gospel, and his expressing his willingness to be “employed in defending or illustrating the christian cause, “can *only mean* his serving the gospel as a minister, bishop, “or pastor.” Now this is so far from being its *meaning* (which no person knew better than the Lecturer) that there have been millions of Bishops or pastors, who were never employed in defending or in illustrating the christian cause, whatever some of them have said and written in defence or illustration of their *own cause*, which they mistook for the cause of christianity. And has it not been already shewn, that one may be a minister of the gospel, without being a Bishop or pastor? And yet you ask, with the most ridiculous solemnity, “And what is all this” (defending or illustrating the christian cause) “but intending to act as a Bishop *ordained at large* ;” (as if Dr. Campbell had been ordained at large !) “to be a pastor without a flock, a *minister* without having any people under his *ministerial* or
“spi-

“ spiritual care,* and to continue a Bishop, after he had
 “ no charge to oversee or inspect?”† Give us patience, hea-
 ven!—Dr. Campbell laid down his office as a Bishop, be-
 cause he was no longer able to discharge its functions: yet
 he meant still to continue a Bishop! The labours of the
 pastoral care exceeded his strength; for this reason he de-
 posed himself: yet, according to you, he intended to be a
 pastor still, because he wished to be considered as a servant
 of Christ! And to crown all, you denominate his character
 of pastor, of which you will not permit him to divest him-
 self, though he actually did it without asking our Pri-
 mate’s leave, (you call it) an *assumed* character! “ If, in
 “ this *assumed* character, he had pretended to baptize a
 “ child, or administer the sacrament of the Lord’s supper,
 “ or assist a class of Bishops in ordaining a Bishop, must
 “ not every thing of this kind, on his own principles, have
 “ been no better than a farcical ceremony?”‡

These *ifs* are the most convenient things in arguing, that
 can be conceived. I could write a long panegyric on their
 various uses in reasoning, to those persons especially, who
 have many words, but are distressed with a penury of ar-
 guments.

The Lecturer declared to his Presbytery, that his reason
 for resigning his office as a pastor, was his inability to per-
 form pastoral duties. Yet, like an Egyptian task-master,
 you set him on performing those duties, whether he was
 able or not! Without pretending to say, that he did actu-

X 4

ally

* *A minister*, I presume to think, signifies a *servant*. Is it es-
 sential to the office of a servant to have “ people under his mini-
 “ sterial charge?” Only to that of a steward or major-domo, who
 under his master, is set over the whole household.

† Vind. p. 411.

‡ Vind. p. 412.

ally perform any of them, you suppose that he might have done it, although "his decline, both in body and mind, unfitted him for it." And then, you infer from his own principles, that whatever he *might* have done in this way, whether he was able to do it or not, was no better than a farcical ceremony, although, at the same time, you are very certain, that, at bottom, he would have considered the ceremony to be perfectly valid,—why? because this man of "duplicity, this profound hypocrite, who served a "church, which he hated, during a long life,"* "would "have spurned at the idea of acting in a fictitious character!"†

All this, as an answer to Dr. Campbell's *argumentum ad hominem*, is the most egregious trifling. You do not allege it as a fact, that he *did*, after he resigned his charge, baptize, administer the eucharist, or assist at ordination.—Consequently, his conduct was not actually at variance with his reasoning, and therefore, nothing can be more puerile, than to speak of retorting his *argumentum ad hominem* upon himself.

But I readily admit, (for *fiat justitia et ruat cælum*) that if the Lecturer had, after his resignation of his pastoral charge, performed one or all of the pastoral functions, which you name, his conduct would not have been unexampled in our church. Many instances may be alleged, of ministers, who have resigned their charges, performing those functions occasionally. And this I beg leave to vindicate from the farcical absurdity, which our Lecturer imputes to the consecration of your College Bishops, by *my argumentum ad hominem*, which we shall call *argumentum the Third*.

Among

* See Presbyt. Lett. Part I.

† Vind. p. 412.

Among us, no person, who has resigned his pastoral charge, can baptize, administer the eucharist, or assist at ordination, unless he be requested to do so by one or more Bishops or pastors, which alone can give him authority to perform, occasionally, those pastoral functions. But if a person be requested to baptize, &c. by a pastor, or any number of pastors, he is, on *your* principles, warranted to baptize, &c. *even though he had never been himself ordained*; and the ceremonies would not be, in any degree, farcical.

By the time you advanced so far, in the demolition of Presbytery, as your attack on the Lecturer's formidable *argumentum ad hominem*, it is probable, that you had entirely forgotten the principles laid down, near the beginning of your *Vindication*. But cast back your eye, if you please, a little more than two hundred pages;* and you will find, that, in your own judgment, a Bishop can, without prayers, or prophesying, or the laying on of hands, delegate the *authority*, which he himself has received from Christ, to whomsoever he thinks fit, whether of the laity, or of those who have returned to that order from officiating in the church. Do you not expressly assert, what we all know before, that Peter did so? And did you not find it incumbent upon you to *justify* what he did? for which that apostle is under very particular obligations. You contend, with irresistible force of reasoning, that "*nobody can doubt* Peter's right "to delegate authority to baptize, in consequence of the "commission which he himself had received from Christ for "that very purpose." I, for my part, would not, for the world, be guilty of *doubting* it for a moment. But I cannot help suspecting, that your church does not think Peter's delegation of his *authority* to the *brethren* from Joppa, "the
"very

* To p. 158.

“very best thing he ever did.” No matter. As you, and every other *good* Bishop, are the successors of the apostles in their ordinary, that is, their Episcopal capacity, which certainly comprehends the power of delegating authority to baptize; it follows, unavoidably, that *you* may delegate *your* Episcopal authority, to any person that you please; that, as Peter commanded the *brethren*, [Uu] who accompanied him from Joppa to Cesarea, to baptize Cornelius and his household; so *you* may “command” your taylor or shoemaker, for example, to baptize, or assist a Bishop or two at a consecration; and, whatever Episcopal function he performs as your delegate, it is just as valid, as was the baptism of Cornelius and his family. Hence, if Dr. Campbell, after he resigned his pastoral charge, had been requested by a Bishop, or a class of Bishops of the Established Church, to perform any pastoral function, he might, undoubtedly, have performed it as warrantably, as your taylor or shoemaker, when you “command” *him*, may perform a like function. I am inclined to think that, if there be any difference between the two cases, in point of *authority*, the advantage was rather on the Lecturer’s side; for he was *once* ordained; and, if he had thought proper to resume the pastoral office, he would have been admitted to the exercise of its functions, without imposition of hands, agreeably to the canonical practice both of ancient and modern times; which your taylor or shoemaker, would not, at least among us, ever be.

So much for the *attack*, which you and the Anti-jacobin have made on the Lecturer’s “contemptible” *argumentum ad hominem*, or rather, I should say, on the character of the author; for the argument itself has not been touched.

LETTER

[Uu] See Notes.

LETTER XL.



AFTER endeavouring to shew, that the principles, from which the Lecturer reasons, or rather, as the Anti-jacobin says, “declaims” against the Episcopal succession in Scotland, are subversive of all the established rules of order in society, an attempt, by which you have made yourselves and your cause equally ridiculous ; you, and your ally and prompter, begin to think of defending *loose* or *absolute* ordinations in general, and the ordination of your College Bishops in particular. For this purpose a solemn appeal is made to the constitution and ends of the college of apostles,—to the practice of primitive times, to the opinions of Episcopal divines, and, finally, to the compassion and charity of all the world, who are entreated to consider the lamentable situation of your church, when its Episcopal college was erected. I begin with the *second* of these topics of justification, because the Literary Censor begins with it.

LETTER

LETTER XLI.

THE Anti-jacobin boldly avers,* that “ during “ the first three centuries, diocesēs” (there having, by his own acknowledgment, as we shall see, been no diocesēs in the first three centuries) “ were but limits of convenience, “ necessary indeed, for the preservation of order, in times “ of peace, but *disregarded entirely* during the prevalence of “ heresy, when every Bishop, considering himself as a uni- “ versal pastor, felt the obligation of feeding his master’s “ sheep, in whatever part of the world they were scatter- “ ed.”

Here we are informed of one of the most curious facts, that is to be met with in the history of religion, I mean, that in the estimation of the primitive church, the preservation of order was *necessary* in times of peace ; but that it was equally necessary to dispense with it when heresy prevailed : from which it follows, that, in the opinion of the church of those times, nothing was so fatal to heresy, as
that

* Vol. IX. p. 244.

that universal confusion and misrule, which must have ensued, when the whole church became vacant, and every Bishop considered himself to be *obliged* to invade the province of every other! Is not this a strange receipt for the extirpation of heretics, and other vermin of a like kind? When a Bishop set off from home, in order to oppose heresy in a distant quarter, what became of the flock, which he left behind him, and of which he had the oversight in “times of peace? What hindered “grievous wolves to creep “in,” and prowl among them at their own pleasure, and without fear, when the shepherd was gone?

But is the averment of the Anti-jacobin really founded in truth? Is it a fact, that, though the church of the first three hundred years was divided, *merely for the sake of convenience* (and, it must be owned, that there would be *some inconvenience* in permitting all the christian clergy to be vagrants) into dioceses, to which their respective Bishops confined their labours in times of peace; no Bishop paid more attention to his own diocese, during the prevalence of heresy, than to any other; but went over all the world to feed the flock of Christ, whenever he could find heresy to be extirpated; just like a horde of wandering Tartars, which, when it has eaten up the pasture of one place, shifts to another? Did the whole church become vacant on such emergencies, as it happened to your *pure and primitive church*, on the ordination of your Episcopal College?—Where has this remarkable fact been hid for ages and generations? From what I can learn, it was never once heard of, till July 1801, when it came out to enlighten the nineteenth century. The apostle Paul knew nothing about it, as it appears from his charge to the Bishops of his day, to “feed the flock of Christ *over which* the Holy Ghost had “made them overseers,” and to the people “to submit
“them-

“ themselves to their own leaders,” whose peculiar charge they were. The Anti-jacobin and you write, as if you would stake your salvation on the truth of the fact, that Timothy and Titus were the *fixed* Diocesan Bishops of Ephesus and Crete. Cyprian appears to have been fully as ignorant as the sacred writers, of the fact, with which the Literary Cenfor brings us acquainted in the sentence with which this Epistle begins; for he says, “ Singulis pastoribus *portio* gregis ascripta est, *quam* regat *unusquisque*, rationem ac-
 “ tûs sui Domino redditurus.” Not a word here of every individual Bishop being called to account for the manner in which he does his duty to the *whole flock* of Christ, which would be but equitable, if the Anti-jacobin’s allegation were true. Nay, so *particular* was the relation that subsists between a Bishop and his church, his own *portio gregis*, accounted in ancient times, that it was, for several ages, thought to be indissoluble, unless by the death of the Bishop; and a removal from one See to another was reprobated as a kind of spiritual adultery.* It is worthy of notice, that Formosus, Bishop of Porto, elected Pope in 891, was the first who was translated from another See, to the high and mighty See of Rome.

No modern writer, either for, or against the validity of your orders, excepting the Anti-jacobin alone, seems to think it true, that during the first three centuries, “ dioceses were but limits of convenience during times of peace, “ but disregarded entirely during the prevalence of heresy.” One of your keenest controvertists positively denies the fact, and asserts, that for your collegiate form of governing the church, there was no precedent from the age of the
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* It was forbidden by the Councils of Arles, Nice, Alexandria, Sardica, Chalcedon, Antioch.

apostles.* And you confess, that that form was equally unacceptable to your clergy and people, "because they " were not accustomed to it, and because it was *not conformable to the primitive model.*"†

Yet, it must be acknowledged, after all, that the Monthly Cenfor did not "speak without book." He did, actually, discover from a most respectable source of information, that during the first three centuries, all the Bishops in the world were College Bishops, while heresy was abroad.— But whence? Not surely from Cyprian, who denies it as explicitly and as sturdily, in the words quoted above, as it is denied by you, and the spirited author of the Rebuffer Rebuffed! From Cyprian unquestionably. "Si quis ex " collegio nostro," said the Bishop of Carthage. From this, and another lucky expression, "*copiosum corpus sacerdotum,*" our "masterly Critic" infers, that all the Bishops in the world were formed into one great college in Cyprian's time, and for two centuries before, and were "considered," says he, "as a great corporation, [Vv] founded for the purpose of propagating the faith through the " world, and preserving it in purity." He goes on to inform us, that "ordination by certain liturgical forms," was not an assignment to a particular charge, to which, it seems, whatever the New Testament and Cyprian may say, no Bishop was confined in primitive times, but "admission " into the corporation," or, as we express it in Scotland, the *Trade* "of Bishops." By their admission into the sacerdotal "corporation," we are farther informed, "they " became immediately vested with all the powers and privileges of the corporation,"‡ one of which privileges appears

* Rebuffer Rebuffed, p. 13.

† Vind. p. 393.

[Vv] See Notes.

‡ Anti-jac. V. IX, p. 244, 245.

pears to have been, the right of setting up, in the way of their profession, in any place where they might happen to be. [Ww]

But the truth is, the words of Cyprian, on which our ingenious Critic builds the strange doctrine, that I have stated above, give it no support nor countenance whatever. “Idcirco copiosum est corpus sacerdotum, concordix mutux glutino et unitatis vinculo copulatum, ut si quis ex “*collegio* nostro hæresin facere, et gregem Christi lacerare “et vastare tentaverit, subveniant cœteri.—Nametsi pasto- “res multi sumus, unum tamen gregem pascimus, et oves “universas, quas Christus sanguine suo et passione quæsit, “colligere et fovere debemus.” Who, but the Anti-jacobin, would discover in this passage, the formation of all the clergy in the world, into one great college or corporation?

Cyprian is a florid writer (but extremely agreeable, and even fascinating) who presents to his readers, on some subjects, more well rounded periods than sentiments, and more figurative expressions than distinct ideas. I cannot, for example, distinguish between his “glutinum mutux concordix,” and his “unitatis vinculum,” (the glue of mutual concord, and the bond of unity) and, I apprehend, they signify, in his application of them, precisely the same thing. What he meant by them, considering the numberless disagreements that took place among the clergy of his day, it is not very easy to ascertain: Perhaps it was a general conformity in faith, respecting all the important points of the christian doctrine. That *copiosum corpus sacerdotum* implies, that the clergy were, in Cyprian’s time, formed
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into what we call a body corporate, I cannot admit, unless the Anti-jacobin prove, that Cyprian uses the expression in a sense, which has the sanction of no classical authority whatever. As to the *collegium nostrum* of the Bishop of Carthage, it evidently signifies *partnership in office*, an acceptance in which it frequently occurs in the best Roman writers, and which is, indeed, the etymological sense of the word. And are not all the christian clergy colleagues? Does not Cyprian say, "We all feed one flock?"

The import of the passage, then, on which the Literary Cenfor has built his paradoxical defence of your Episcopal College, will, to every impartial and intelligent reader, appear to be,—that, as the great body of the ministers of the gospel, scattered over the world, are, generally, agreed about the great leading truths of christianity, and have all *one* end of their labours, the promotion of faith and obedience; when any pernicious novelty or dangerous heresy appears in any part of the church, a great majority will join in checking and repressing it; and by doing so, they by no means act without authority, nor do any more than their duty: for they are all colleagues in office, and as such, feed one flock, the flock of Christ, of which every one has a portion assigned to him as his peculiar charge.

Look into ecclesiastical history. You will find that it entirely justifies the interpretation now given of the passage under consideration. Does history inform us, that the Bishops of the first three centuries forsook their parishes, and ran about, like watermen with their fire engines, to extinguish the flames of heresy, wherever they heard that they were kindled? Was it not by Synods, that met periodically, or were called *pro re nata*, and which were composed of Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and Laymen, that dange-

rous heresies were condemned, and the authors of them, if they were of the clerical order, deposed, or otherwise punished?

But though we were to admit the Anti-jacobin's explanation of the passage he quotes from Cyprian's Epistles, and the inferences he draws from it, to be perfectly just; still we must insist, they do not serve his purpose. For, so far were your College Bishops from having Episcopal authority over "*all* the flock of Christ, in whatever part of the world they were scattered," that they themselves joined the clergy and people in thinking, and also in declaring, that "they had no authority over *any part of it*, by any law of God or his church; that they could not, by any law, human or divine, claim a title to any spiritual jurisdiction; and that, consequently, every act and deed of theirs, as a college, was usurpation without right, and so, in the eye of God and all good men, void and null."*

Is it not a curious contemplation, to see the Anti-jacobin fighting *for* your College Bishops, and yet at hot war with them; defending the orders of your church, by carrying on hostilities against some defenders of them fully as strenuous as himself? What becomes of a kingdom divided against itself? Its external enemies have only to stand by, and see *their* business done by the nation *itself* which they are ambitious to subdue.

The fertility of the Anti-jacobin's controversial resources is inexhaustible; and no polemic can improve his resources to better account than he. He makes Cyprian say what he pleases: and, after compelling that Father to declare, that
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* Rebuffer Rebuffed, p. 13, 14.

the only purpose of ordaining a numerous body of clergy, and forming them into a corporation with *exclusive* powers and privileges (none of which Cyprian reveals to us) was to propagate the faith, and preserve it in purity; or rather, as the Bishop of Carthage himself says, to prevent heretical Priests from tearing and laying waste the flock of Christ; he infers, that this same sacerdotal corporation was from the beginning; for he says, as we have seen, “During the first three centuries, dioceses were but limits of convenience, &c.” Yet there is not a single sentence, from beginning to end of the New Testament, from which we can infer, that the numerous clergy of the apostolic church were formed into a body corporate, with exclusive powers and privileges; nor does any ecclesiastical history, that I have seen, so much as hint at the fact. If this order of things really prevailed in the time of Cyprian, let me ask the Antijacobin, at what time it was introduced? And if I were not afraid that the Gentleman may consider me to be troublesome, I would farther enquire, “By whom, and upon what authority it was altered?” That it came to an end he acknowledges himself;—for he says, in the passage of his work which was last referred to, “*When countries indeed were divided into dioceses, and local Bishops placed over them, those Bishops were prohibited by canon, from impertinently interfering with each others conduct; but when the faith or welfare of the church was in danger, the interest of the whole community,—of that episcopatus, cuius a singulis in solidum pars tenetur—made them disregard such canons; because no laws, enacted by human authority, could tie up their hands,*” &c.—There is a certain degree of confusion in the whole paragraph, from which I have extracted this passage; but whether that confusion be studied or not, I will not pretend to say. Yet, notwithstanding its defect in point of precision and perspicuity,

cuity, it bears, *in gremio*, a very valuable concession to your adversaries. The Anti-jacobin does not, indeed, distinctly name the particular period, at which countries were divided into dioceses, and local Bishops placed over each; I mean, he does not mention the year, nor the century. He acknowledges, however, that this arrangement was not from the beginning. Nay, his words imply, that it did not take place, till after the apostles were all dead; for he mentions the canons, which direct the conduct, and limit the powers, of Diocesan Bishops, as "*laws enacted by human authority*," and therefore not obligatory on Prelates in certain cases. As the sacred college, then, enacted no laws for regulating the conduct, and defining the powers of Diocesan Bishops, we may warrantably infer, that the apostles knew nothing about Diocesan Episcopacy. This is a deduction, from what the Anti-jacobin himself admits, to which, I should think it very extraordinary if he object. Yet this man treats Dr. Campbell with the rudest insolence, for denying that Timothy and Titus were local Diocesan Bishops during the life of Paul, and for expressing his doubts about the authenticity of the tradition, which makes James the Diocesan Bishop of Jerusalem in apostolic times! Countries, he confesses, were not divided into dioceses, over which local Bishops were placed, till those Bishops might, in certain cases, warrantably disregard the canons, as laws enacted by human authority; and yet Diocesan Episcopacy, with a local Bishop placed over every diocese, was apostolic order!

LETTER XLII.

LEST Cyprian's formation of all the clergy in the christian church into a corporation, with exclusive powers and privileges, like the corporations of butchers and hammermen in our great towns, should not be thought a sufficient vindication of loose ordinations, and of the constitution of your Episcopal College, our Literary Censor appeals to the conduct of Athanasius, and Eusebius of Samosata, who, in the time of the prevalence of the Arian heresy, ordained Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, at large :* and he adds *energetically*, " If the conduct of the " two ancient prelates was proper, and the Bishops, whom " they consecrated at large, real Bishops, facts, which hi- " therto, have *never been questioned*, it is impossible to blame " the conduct of the Scotch prelates," who erected the Episcopal College, " or to doubt the validity of the consecrations performed by them." The amount of this argument is, that if loose ordinations be valid in one instance, and at one juncture, they are valid in *all* instances, and at *all*

* Anti-jac. Vol. IX. p. 245.

junctions. I cannot say that I should be disposed to admit the conclusion, even although the premises were indisputable. But the premises are *not* indisputable; and all that the Anti-jacobin says for them is, that they have not hitherto been questioned. What! never questioned? What can the learned Critic mean? Has he forgotten the Sixth Canon of the Council of Chalcedon, which, after Athanasius and Eusebius were dead and gone, declared *all* ordinations at large null and void? Nay, and pronounced the ministrations of men so ordained, no ministrations at all? Has he forgotten Leo I.'s reprehension of such ordinations in his 92d Epistle? Nay, has he forgotten the ridicule poured on ordinations at large by writers of your own church, who call your College Bishops Utopian Prelates, and deny that they had any authority either over the whole, or over any part of, the flock of Christ?

But I must take the liberty of expressing my doubts about the truth of the fact, that Athanasius and Eusebius ordained Bishops and Priests, and Deacons at large, and sent them forth against the Arians. Why did not the Anti-jacobin give us the *ipsissima verba*, in which the authors,* to whom he refers, inform us of this fact? A writer,† of whom he expresses very high esteem, gives rather a different account of the matter. That writer, to whom the Anti-jacobin is under greater obligations than he has thought it necessary to acknowledge, says, 'not that Athanasius ordained vagrant clergy, while Arianism prevailed, but that he ordained and confirmed *out of his own diocese*; which

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* One of them, viz. Socrates, is accused of collecting whatever stories fell in his way.

† Rebuffer Rebuffed, p. 14, 15.

implies only, that he granted orders to the *orthodox* candidates for the ministry, when they applied to him, to whatever diocese they belonged. But be this as it may. Who were Athanasius and Eusebius? Apostles divinely inspired? If they were not, who values what they did? Is *their* conduct an infallible directory? Is it certain, that, because they lived fifteen centuries ago, they could not do a senseless or irregular thing, and that we may blindly tread in their steps?

LETTER XLIII.

IF we may give credit to Cyprian himself, every member of his “*copiosum corpus sacerdotum*” had a local charge, a “*portio gregis*,” committed to him, whether he was at liberty to run away from it in times of heresy, or not; whereas your College Bishops were rather worse provided in dioceses, that Captain Sir John Falstaff’s company were in shirts; for they had not a diocese and a half among them all. I am surprized, that this glaring discrepancy did not occur to the acute Anti-jacobin. But, indeed, I suspect that he was aware of it. For he is evidently afraid to rest the defence of your Collegiate form on the Cyprianic corporation of clergy; and therefore tells us, that if Doctors Paterson, Rose, and Douglas, were in the wrong, Athanasius and Eusebius, who also dealt in the manufacture of vagabond clerks, could not be in the right, although no body has as yet called them to account. Still he does not seem to be entirely satisfied with his vindication of your college, and rummages his brain, till he finds out at last, that the College Bishops of Scotland “*must be considered as apostles in the strictest sense of the word.*”*

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* Anti-jac. ubi supra.

Is it not surprizing, that the College Bishops themselves, poor men! never took it in their own heads, that they were apostles? This puts one in mind of the person, who spoke prose all his life, without ever knowing it.

An apostle is a messenger; and a messenger must be sent some whither, must he not? Whither, then, were your new-fangled apostles sent? They were not sent to the heathen, nor to the Jews, says the Anti-jacobin. No? Then they had, in so far, a different commission from the first apostles; for *their* business lay chiefly among infidels, although you seem to think, [Xx] that, in their old age, they grew tired of wandering, and sat down with bishoprics. But whither were our *nonjurant* apostles sent? Here is *another* point of difference; for none of our Lord's apostles were nonjurors: in politics, they were all Vicars of Bray. But whither were our Scottish apostles sent? They were sent *home*; that is, it was no part of their mission, no more than of that of the Haldanite missionaries, to stir from the country where they were ordained. But what were the apostles of Doctors Paterfon, Rose, and Douglas, commissioned to do at home? Was Scotland, in their time, pagan all over, or had circumcision begun to creep in amongst us? Not at all. Scotland was then fully as much a christian country, as it is at present, if not more so. What then, in the name of common sense, were our College Apostles commissioned to teach, or to do? They were, says the Monthly Censor, commissioned to teach orthodoxy, and to build up the *true church*; or, to use his own words, "they were sent into a country, over-run with heresy and schism, from which it is equally the duty of *the church*, to reclaim mankind, as to convert them from idolatry." Excellent!

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They were consecrated in Scotland, and then sent into Scotland.

Really, Mr. Anti-jacobin, this is *too* much. As you often, with great freedom, and with a boldness that would not disgrace Juvenal, act the *Censor Morum*, as well as the Censor of our politics and literature, I am humbly of opinion, that it would be but decent to begin at home. We may smile at your inconclusive reasoning, your strong words and weak arguments, your vehemence, your ridiculous rage on trifling occasions, and more especially on occasions when your adversaries leave you nothing sensible to answer; and we can divert ourselves with the idea of a holy divine of *the true church* writing furiously against such a shocking latitudinarian as our deceased Lecturer, while his hand trembles, and his lip quivers, and his nostrils are distended, and his whole body is convulsed, with anger, and perhaps, the table or desk shakes under his arm. But we feel indignant scorn, when we read your palpable violations of truth. All the world knows, and your party acknowledges; nay, in the page of his immortal work which I am reviewing at this moment, your very Primus confesses, that “the principal design” (in reality, it was the sole design) “of all the consecrations, which took place in Scotland, from the Revolution in 1688, to the death of the last survivor of the ejected Bishops in 1720,” was, not “to reclaim mankind from heresy and schism,” (*your* College Bishops reclaim mankind from heresy and schism?) but, “to preserve, through that dangerous and distressful period, a regular Episcopal succession in Scotland.”*

If your College Bishops were really apostles, they were
apostles

* Vind. p. 389.

apostles *sui generis*. They did not obtain the crown of martyrdom, as most of our Lord's apostles did ; I mean, they did not suffer death for their profession, but only the privation of what the first apostles never enjoyed, and never desired. But they were, in some respects, much worse treated than their illustrious predecessors. You are at great pains to convince us,* that the first apostles exercised their Episcopal authority with a high hand ; from which I beg leave to enter my dissent. But it is true, that the authority of the first apostles was never resisted, nor their commands disobeyed, so far as we can learn from holy writ, either by christian pastors or their people. But the clergy and people of your little communion refused all subjection to your apostles as apostles ; nay your apostles themselves confessed,† that no clergy nor people on earth owed them subjection : and every act and deed of theirs, as apostles, has been pronounced, not by your adversaries, who cannot speak with a grave face about the apostolic powers of those men, but by their friends and spiritual progeny, to be “ usurpation without right, and so, in the eye “ of God and all good men, null and void.” If they were thus treated by the most judicious members of their own church, and if they themselves acknowledged that they had no right to be treated better, can you blame us, if we are not so much disposed to equalize them to the first ministers of the gospel, as the Literary Censor appears to be ; and if we do not think the orders which you derive from Bishops, who themselves confessed, that no christians on earth owed them subjection as Bishops or governors of the church, are the most valid Episcopal orders in the world ? If the Antijacobin had equalized them to Paul, when before his conversion, he was sent to Damascus, as the apostle of the San-

* Vind. p. 147, 148.

† Rebuffer Rebuffed, p. 13, 14.

Sanhedrim, to reclaim the heretics and schismatics there, perhaps we should not have quarrelled with him on the subject of their apostleship. At that time, I believe, the apostle was in fully as bad temper as they; to mention no *other* points of likeness.

But what was the success of our post-revolution apostles, whom, as the Anti-jacobin has authorized us by his example, we shall call "missionaries for propagating the gospel "at home," (what was their success) in extirpating heresy and schism from this pestilent region,—a region which, in the last age, produced scarcely any thing but heretics and schismatics; and, in the present yields nothing, if we except a handful of Episcopals, but Sadducees and Pharisees? Did they actually reclaim England and Scotland, which, in *their* time, were both equally over-run with the spiritual plagues, that your College Bishops were sent to extirpate? Their success was not quite equal to that of our Lord's apostles in reclaiming mankind from idolatry. Does not this look as if there had been a flaw, something uncanonical, in their ordination? I acknowledge that their want of success may have been, partly, owing to other causes. The real object of their *mission* was never known till 1801; consequently the discovery came too late, by a whole century, for the apostles themselves. Then they had not the power of working miracles, with which the first apostles were endowed. As to the gift of tongues, they had no use for it, unless it had been to enable them to read the Fathers without the help of Lexicons, and what Presbyterian clergymen need, *faithful translations*; for their mission did not send them, I may say, from the *fireside*. And you know, they depended chiefly for success on James VII. and James VIII. and their friends; whereas the first apostles looked to heaven instead of France, and had the co-operation of Jesus Christ,

Christ, a more powerful monarch than any of our exiled princes, even when they were supported by the might of the whole French empire.

But is there no fruit of the mission of our fireside apostles to be seen at this day? Some of the seed, which they sowed among the briars and thorns of this schismatical country, lay a century and more in the ground; and all men were beginning to fear, that it was quite choked. But it sprang up at last, and now bears fruit, "fair to the eye, and good to you." To speak without a figure, schism is, in part, done away. But how? By the conversion of the schismatics? No; but by means fully as effectual. The great apostles of *unity*, who, for a hundred and sixteen years, have been deafening us with the "unceasing cry," Schism, Schism, Join us, "or be ruined for ever," have themselves gone over to one part of the schismatics:* and so, here is *one* rent sewed up. In the course of another period of a hundred and sixteen years, it is presumable, though I do not expect to see the event, that you will all come over to us: and—then—instead of being, as at present, only the *establishment*, and the *kirk*, we shall be the established church; nay, "*the church*, a select society or number of people,† called out of, or from, the world that lieth in "wickedness." And this will not be unreasonable, notwithstanding all that has happened between us and you.—Who could require the *mountain* to go to *Mahomet*? The Arabian prophet was a sensible man, although he did not always speak the truth. *He* went to the *mountain*; and so will you at last.

LETTER

* By signing the XXXIX Articles, and stretching forth their arms to embrace the Church of England dissenters in this country; whose meetings were, so late as 1786, "schismatical assemblies,"—but who are *now*, "Dearly beloved brethren."

† Is not a *mob* a number of people? It is, not, however, a society.

LETTER XLIV.

I HAVE no doubt, that you and the Anti-jacobin are, at bottom, well convinced that you have failed in your attempt to prove, either that your College Bishops were such ecclesiastical officers as the Bishops of the first three centuries, or that they were "apostles in the strictest sense of the word." But after equalizing them to Christ's apostles, I did not expect the Literary Censor to stoop so very low, as to vindicate their claim to the honours of parochial Episcopacy, and to have the condescension to *prove*, that the orders which they possessed, and conferred on others, are, at least, equal to the orders of the kirk. The object *here* is so much beneath the ambition of a divine, so nearly allied to the primeval dignitaries of the christian church, that his stooping to grasp at it is a full proof, that however much Dr. Campbell's *argumentum ad hominem* has irritated his temper, it has greatly improved his humility; in which, I trust, he will have reason to rejoice, both now and hereafter.

At this stage of the controversy, the Anti-jacobin loses
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the government of his temper altogether. Hence it is natural to infer, that both his argument and his good breeding must suffer not a little : and so they do. To the language he uses, the remark that Charles II. the pious restorer of your church, made upon the established religion of this country, that “ it is not a religion for a gentleman,” is not at all inapplicable. For the Lecturer is accused of “ confidence of affirmation,” by which, I suppose, the Critic means “ impudent lying,” of “ ductility of principles,” of “ reasoning like a school-boy, who had never looked in-
“ to a treatise of logic;” to say nothing of the contemptuous air with which the Lecturer is treated by this man of no ceremony, and which it ill becomes the proudest Priest of High Church to assume, in criticizing the works of the author of *The Dissertation on Miracles*.—So much for the railing part of the business. Now for the reasoning.

“ The ordination of our present Scotch Episcopal clergy,” says Dr. Campbell, “ is solely from Presbyters; for it is
“ allowed that those men, who came under the hands of
“ Bishop Rose and others, had been regularly admitted
“ ministers or Presbyters, in particular congregations, before the Revolution. And to that first ordination, I
“ maintain, that their farcical consecration by Dr. Rose
“ and others, when they were solemnly made the depositaries of no deposit, commanded to be diligent in doing
“ no work, vigilant in the oversight of no flock, assiduous
“ in teaching and governing no people, and presiding in no
“ church, added nothing at all.”* The Lecturer afterwards observes,† that “ though the Scotch Episcopal
“ Church has a sort of Presbyterian ordination, he would
“ by no means be understood as equalizing theirs to that
“ which

* Lect. on Ecclesiastical History, V. I. p. 354. † Id. p. 356.

“ which obtains among us. For whoever is ordained among us, is ordained a Bishop by a class of Bishops ; whereas the ordination of our Episcopal church proceeds from Presbyters, to whom a part only of the ministerial powers was committed, and from whom was withheld, in particular, the right of transmitting orders to others. When we say that *our* orders are from Presbyters, we do not use the term in their acceptation ; but in that wherein we find it used in the Acts of the Apostles, &c.”—

If you, or the Anti-jacobin, had not felt this reasoning to be unanswerable, you would have immediately attempted to shew, that the consecration of your College Bishops by Dr. Rose and others, *did* add something to the powers committed to those men before, and of which powers the right of ordaining was not one. Unless you can accomplish this, the Lecturer's argument must remain unanswered. But, instead of so much as attempting this, the Anti-jacobin only insists that the consecration of your College Bishops “ could not deprive them of the oversight of those flocks, of which they had previously the pastoral care, as Priests of the second order.” No body denies this ; but what is it to the purpose ? Their consecration did not commit to them the oversight of any flock whatever. Was it meant, does the Anti-jacobin say, to make them Parochial Bishops of the flocks,* which they had previously governed as Priests of the second order ? Is he in earnest in wishing them to be considered as primitive Parochial Bishops ? If he be, with all my heart. I am glad to see his tone so much lowered. But unfortunately this will not do. They were, in *fact*, consecrated for the express purpose of continuing the *Episcopal*, that is, the *highest* order of Priests in an *Episcopal* church,

* He says it actually did so ! p. 247.

church, not for the purpose of raising them to the order of parochial Bishops. It does not signify a straw *what* the Lecturer has written to prove, that parochial Episcopacy was primitive, or next to primitive, order. Your College Bishops were not Parochial Bishops *before* their consecration, but Priests in an Episcopal church, who have not the "virtue of order in them;" and, as they received no local charge *at* their consecration, they were not Parochial Bishops *after* it. Is it a first principle with you, that if an Episcopal church meant to convert all its Presbyters into Parochial Bishops, and confer on them "the *virtue of order*," all that is necessary is, to depose all the Diocesan Bishops? I cannot believe it. Those, therefore, on whom Dr. Rose and others laid their hands after the Revolution, were not primitive Bishops, either in the Lecturer's acceptance of that title, or in yours. A parish Priest in an Episcopal church is a very different officer from a Parochial Bishop in primitive times. The latter had no superior in the church; the former is subject to his diocesan. The latter could ordain, the former has not that power committed to him. Can any thing be plainer, or more indisputable than this? Between the ordination of a minister among us, and the ordination of the Diocesan Bishops of your church by your Episcopal College, there is this obvious and striking difference—a difference, which no angry disputant can, with all the chicane of a special pleader, and all the noise of passionate invective, ever explain away or disguise; I mean, that *our* clergy are ordained by a class of men, who have no superiors in the church, and have, both in primitive and latter times, had the power of ordaining; whereas, the members of your Episcopal College, having been Presbyters only in an Episcopal church *after* their sacerdotal consecration, as they were before it, belonged to an inferior

order in the church, to whom the power of ordaining had, for ages, ceased to be committed.

You enquire, sarcastically, what class of Bishops ordained Bishop Calvin at Geneva, and Bishop Knox in Scotland? * The Anti-jacobin, likewise, that he may have *his* fling at the derivation of our orders, asks, "Were not all the Presbyterian churches on earth founded either by the multitude, the civil power, or those who, at the Reformation, being Priests of the second order, had received no authority to ordain, and were, according to our author, not originally in the church?" †

You forget, gentlemen, that we argue with you upon *your own* professed principles, and that it is but fair, that you argue with us upon *ours*.—As to the channel, through which *our* orders have been transmitted to us from the apostles, I can solemnly assure you, that we give ourselves very little trouble about it. We believe that emergencies may occur, and that such emergencies have actually occurred in time past, wherein any man, who feels himself disposed to proclaim the good news of salvation, and is qualified for the office, may, very warrantably, consider our Lord's commission, which is recorded for the instruction of all in the New Testament, "Go ye, and teach all nations," &c. as addressed to *him*, and may take out a commission immediately from Jesus Christ. This was the way in apostolic times, as appears from various parts of scripture, particularly the eighth chapter of the book of Acts. It was the way with Bishop Calvin and Bishop Knox, who, though they were, I believe, in Priests orders before they ceased to be Episcopalians (Calvin was certainly a Priest) rather chose

* Vind. p. 404.

† Anti-jac. V. IX. p. 246.

chose to take their commission, as ministers of the Reformation, from Jesus Christ, than from a Popish Bishop.— But what, in the name of wonder, have *we* to do with the ordination of Bishop Calvin at Geneva? We have much the same concern in that ordination, as in the canonical circumcision of the Grand Seignior, or of the chief magistrate of Tombuctoo. And what signifies it to the orders of your church, that *ours* are from Presbyters in an Episcopal church, or that our ecclesiastical polity was founded by the multitude, or by the civil power, or both in conjunction? Say, if you please, that like the ecclesiastical authority of our clergy, our orders are only the semblance, the mere shadow, nay the dream of a shadow, of orders. Are yours one jot better for all this, though it were proved? You argue, as if the respective orders of the Presbyterian and Episcopal Churches of Scotland were like the two arms of a balance, of which, while the one is down, the other must necessarily be up. Only vindicate your own orders from the imputation which the Lecturer fixes on them. But do not imagine, that this can be done by sneering questions about the origin of ours, or by angry invectives. It is, I own, considered to be no bad policy, to carry the war into the enemy's country; for, while we afford employment to his forces at home, he will batter down none of *our* strong holds. But, in the war between us and High Church, this stratagem will not avail you. We leave you at full liberty to spend your ammunition upon our orders, to your very last charge; and we laugh at you all the while. For we do not claim, as you do, an exclusive right to preach the gospel, and administer the sacraments of Christ, who, we verily believe, has reserved to himself the power of blessing his own means of salvation, and has not committed it exclusively, to the clergy of any church under heaven, whence-soever they derive their orders. Like the clergy of the

Church of England, (you will recollect, I hope, that you lately signed the XXXIX. Articles, though you have not yet taken the oaths to government) “ we are called and sent by men, having authority given unto them in the congregation, to call and send ministers into the Lord’s vineyard.” Are your orders the better for this? Whencefoever *ours* come, yours are from Presbyters in an Episcopal church, an order from which, ever since the formation of a regular hierarchy, the power of ordaining has been withheld. And if you derive your Episcopal authority from men who had no Episcopal authority themselves, how can it be more valid, *on your own principles*, than if as many house carpenters had consecrated the Diocesan Bishops of Scotland, before the Episcopal College was dissolved ?

But, let me tell you, we no more derive our orders from Bishop Knox than from Bishop Calvin. Do not you remember that, when the General Assembly in 1638 deposed all the Bishops, and excommunicated the greater number of them for Simony, *neglect of Episcopal duty, profaneness* (for it is only *since* the Revolution that our Scottish Bishops have been religious, and attentive to their Episcopal duties; which shews that the Revolution has been good for *them*, as well as for *us*) the most of the clergy, if not all, who concurred in the deposition of the Bishops, had been Episcopally ordained, and became, through the men, who had authority given unto them in the congregation to call and send ministers, what we are now, Parochial Bishops ? We have the glory, then, of being independent of John Knox, as well as of John Calvin, of whom the Anti-jacobin seems to think but meanly. We descend from James VI.’s Presbyterian Bishops ! They were a mongrel kind of Bishops, I confess ; and, therefore, we do not value ourselves so highly on our descent from them, as you, our spiritual cou ns, seem

seem to do. *Nos novimus hæc esse nihil.* But, you see, we are the *facra soboles* of the Church of England, as well as you.

In a word, on the principles of christianity and sound reason, two sources of knowledge that are never at variance, we do not object to the orders which you derive from your College Bishops. God forbid, that we should believe the salvation of souls to be, in any measure, dependent on such trifles! But upon *your own principles*, those orders are nothing, less than nothing, and vanity.

When we think of the fanciful importance that your church attaches to, what it calls, the validity of its orders, we cannot help being sorry, that your College Bishops were, as our Lecturer expresses it, “solemnly made the “depositaries of no deposit; commanded to be diligent in “doing nothing; vigilant in the oversight of no flock; as- “fiduous in teaching and governing no people; and presi- “ding in no church.” When *men* can, like children, be “pleased with a rattle,” and “tickled with a straw,” it is painful to see the *rattle* and the *straw* placed for ever beyond their reach. If your College Bishops had been only commanded, in imitation of Simeon the anchoret, or of Stylites and Baradatus, his contemporaries, to live, for the edification of mankind, on the tops of pillars on a high mountain, or to dwell in a cage, wherein they could neither stand nor sit upright, and to fast six days of the week,—it had been something. But there is not one religious office, superstitious or rational, save only the propagation of their kind *in spiritualibus*, nor one clerical function, which, in consequence of their pretended consecration, they were bound to perform. Unlike any thing that we know in nature, they were created to be useless to the world, being only, as Horace speaks, “*fruges consumere nati.*” To equa-

lize them to holy water, would be accounted, by its admirers, but a poor compliment to that consecrated substance.

Upon the whole, the united genius and research of the Monthly Political and Literary Censor, and his Primate, have not been able to discover *any thing christian*, in any age or country, to which your College Bishops of the last century can be proved to be like. In this I am joined, as I have shewn, by those men themselves, by their contemporaries both of the clergy and laity of your church, and by one of the keenest and most ingenious controvertists of your communion, who published on the subject so lately as the year 1770.

LETTER

LETTER XLV.

NOTHING is more easy than to render the canons of ancient councils “ of none effect” in reasoning, as well as in practice, by such arbitrary explanations and glosses, as you impose * on the Sixth Canon of the Council of Chalcedon. That Canon declares every loose ordination, whether of Priests, Deacons, or any other ecclesiastical officers, ακυρον, void, that is, no ordination at all. And yet, as if μητε ολως τινα των εν εκκλησιαστικω ταγματι (nor, in general any ecclesiastical officer of any order) meant nothing at all, you say that “ the prohibition is particularly levelled “ at the loose ordinations of *Presbyters* and *Deacons* !”

The Council which met at Nice, and was transferred to Chalcedon in 451, was, indeed, as you say, “ called to “ repress the Eutychian heresy.” But all its deliberations were not directed to that one object, nor was it *ultra vires* in the Council to take other things into consideration, that had no immediate connexion with the repression of the heresy.

* Vind. p. 372, 373, 374, 375.

refy. After they had settled the faith of the church, particularly respecting the nature of Christ, and drawn up a symbol, which was subscribed by all present, excepting Dioscorus and a few more Eutychians, the Fathers at Chalcedon proceeded to a business of a different nature, the regulation of the discipline of the church: and among other decrees, relating to order and discipline, the Sixth Canon was adopted.

In what manner, or for what reason, this decree tended to the repression of the Eutychian heresy, I cannot divine; and, as you have produced none of the respectable authorities, by which you tell us, that if you had so pleased, you might have confirmed your opinion of the meaning and design of this Canon, we have, unfortunately, neither reason nor the authority of great names, to draw us over to your opinion. Why was the ordination of Presbyters and Deacons *at large* more dangerous to the catholic faith, than the loose ordination of Bishops, which, you insinuate, it was not so much an object with the Council to prohibit? Are vagabond Priests and Deacons under stronger temptations, from their rank in the church, to fall into heresy, than vagabond Prelates? Then I do not wonder that Priests and Deacons are ambitious of rising to the Episcopate as quickly as possible; and that it is, perhaps, a bishopric that they would be at, when they pray, "Lead us not into temptation." When you shall have answered all the questions which I have already proposed, I should be glad to hear you upon another point, that perplexes me not a little.—The Anti-jacobin tells me, that for the repression of the Arian heresy in the fourth century, Athanasius and Eusebius of Samosata, in the profundity of their *ancient* wisdom, ordained Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, at large, and let them loose upon the Arians. You inform me, that in
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the middle of the fifth century, the Council of Chalcedon, for the repression of the Eutychian heresy, *prohibited* loose ordinations, and declared such ordinations null and void, nay, and the ministrations of vagabond clerks utterly inefficacious, and no ministrations at all. The Literary Cenfor comes forward again, and asserts with confidence, that your College of Bishops at large, was a measure resorted to in the eighteenth century, by a church which never yet erred, for the *extirpation of heresy and schism*. I do not know what to make of all this. That the very same receipt should be effectual for the repression of heresy in the fourth century; the worst thing that could be prescribed in the same disease in the fifth century, and considered to be death by a great Pope in the end of the sixth century; and then again should recover its sanative powers in the beginning of the eighteenth, and be prescribed, with effect, by the first physicians of the age! This is too wonderful for me: it is high; I cannot comprehend it. But there is one thing that I am able to comprehend, and that I cannot sufficiently admire; I mean the delightful harmony, in point of opinion, upon difficult subjects, that distinguishes the writers of High Church. This must be owing to their apostle's "glutinum mutuxæ concordix," with which they are all most profusely besprinkled, and his "vinculum unitatis," wherewith they are bound together, like the bundle of rods, with which the wise father in the fable instructed his sons in the advantages of unanimity and concord.

You ask "how" the prohibition of loose ordinations by the Council of Chalcedon, and the veneration in which the Canons of that Council were held by Leo I. and Gregory the Great, "come to afford any peculiar force of argument against "the Scotch Episcopal Church?" I will tell you how this comes. It is because the decisions of reason and common sense

sense happen to be sanctioned by a great council of ecclesiastics, which was convened in the middle of the fifth century, and by a Bishop of Rome, who was contemporary with the Council, and particularly admired the 6th Canon, and by another illustrious prelate of the same church in the end of the sixth century, who equalized the Canons of the four first General Councils to the Four Gospels. If, indeed, reason and common sense were on one side, and the opinions of ecclesiastics, and the Canons of Councils, in the fifth century, on the other; consistency would oblige your church to bow to the latter. But as they happen to agree in the instance under consideration, our Lecturer thought that the voice of reason and common sense, being recommended to attention by such respectable authority as the 6th Canon of the Council of Chalcedon, had some chance to be listened to by the idolaters of antiquity. But he did not know the men with whom he was contending. The Primate of the Scotch Episcopal Church pays more regard to an article of a modern creed, than to the decree of an ancient Council, when the latter rebukes the practice of his church. The XXI. Article of the Church of England is brought forward to invalidate the authority of the 6th Canon of the Council of Chalcedon! High Church, who adores the decisions of antiquity as one of the chief pillars and grounds of truth, opposes the articles of a single national church in the sixteenth century, and in the vicinity of the North Pole, to the Canons of an Œcumenical Council, held in the fifth century, and in that quarter of the globe, where the light of christianity first shone; and she is not ashamed to avow, that she entirely agrees with the former! This harmonizes wonderfully with the title and the leading object of your Vindication.

For my part, I agree with the Church of England in believing

lieving, that “ General Councils may err, and sometimes “ have ſerred, in things pertaining to God ;” although I cannot think it a damnable error in the Council of Chalcedon, to prohibit the ordination of vagabond clerks. But fallibility happens not to be one of the *incommunicable* attributes of General Councils. It is part of my creed, that individuals, whether of the clergy or laity, as well as large bodies of men, may err, and sometimes have erred, in things pertaining to God. Hence, after ſetting at nought the authority of a General Council, a Council ſo ancient, that its Canons are now in the 1358th year of their age, it appears ſtrange in the *Vindicator of Primitive Truth*, to appeal to the opinions of individual theologues in modern times.*

Your quotations from Docters Prideaux and Horsley have not the leaſt connection with the point at iſſue between the Lecturer and you ; and therefore they are as much miſplaced, as if they were inſerted in the middle of Vida’s *Game of Chefs*. Who ever diſputed Dr. Horsley’s doctrine? Who does not know, that a chriſtian church may exiſt, and did actually exiſt three hundred years, not only independently of the ſtate, but in ſpite of it? What then? Does this juſtify the dedication of miniſters, amidſt prayers, and other liturgical offices, to no miniſtry? As to Dr. Prideaux, all that he inſiſts upon is, that the nonjurant Biſhops were not deprived of their ſpiritual office by the law which deposed them; the contrary! of which I have attempted to evince.† This alſo is altogether unconnected with the controversy about the validity of looſe ordinations.

Of your “ reſpectable authorities” in defence of your eſta-

* Vind. p. 383, 384, 385. et ſequ.

† Lett. XXXIII.

establishment of Utopian Bishops, I think it necessary to take notice of only one, I mean, Hooker.

The only specific reason urged in justification of loose ordinations by that excellent writer, is “the conversion of nations.” As to the general assertions, with which we are entertained, respecting the expediency of such ordinations at particular times, and in particular situations of the church, they deserve very little notice, since he leaves us to imagine those times and situations to be whatever we please.—But on what ground did he consider the ordination of ministers, to preach the gospel to unconverted nations, to be *loose ordinations*? Has their ministry no distinct and particular object? Are they made the depositaries of no deposit, or commanded to be diligent in doing no work? Are they ordained to propagate the gospel in no place in particular? *They* are ordained for the conversion of nations. Your College Bishops were ordained for no purpose, as you acknowledge, but that of keeping up the order. So long as there are nations to be converted, the ordination of missionaries to convert them can never be absurd or farcical.—But nothing can exceed the absurdity of appointing a Bishop to feed the flock of Christ, and to preside in a church, while you give him neither flock to feed, nor church to preside in, nor subject one single christian on earth to his Episcopal government. If you wished to make the Episcopal character an object of derision to all the world, this is precisely the farce that would best answer the purpose. It was such a farce, that Peter the Great caused to be acted, when he desired to make the idea of a supreme head of the universal church ridiculous in his dominions. He made an old fool, who had taught him to write, Knès Papa, or Supreme Pontiff;—whom he caused to be installed by a number of buffoons, and harangued, on his installation, by four sta-

flammerers; and after the new Pope had created a sufficient number of Cardinals, his Imperial Majesty contrived to have the whole sacred college made drunk with brandy.— Jotof (for that was the first Russian Pope's name) was more fortunate than your College Bishops. For, though he got no pontifical charge, he had an appointment of 2000 crowns, and a house assigned him.* This was a benefice without cure of souls. But your sacred College got neither benefice nor cure.

Hooker does not speak of the ordination of Bishops at large. The specific reason that he urges to justify such ordinations, rather excludes the idea of the loose ordination of Bishops, whose business it is, not to convert, but to oversee and feed a flock already converted. By the way, he makes a very curious distinction, to which you call the attention of your readers, “between the *nature* of the ministry, and the use and exercise thereof.” I cannot comprehend of what service this can be to *your* cause, or to any other cause; for it is nonsense. What is it that makes a man a servant? Is it not actual service, not merely an engagement to serve? Yet the judicious Hooker gravely asserts, that men may be servants of Jesus Christ during the term of life, although they never, in their whole lives, serve him an hour! I have heard of nothing analogous to such service in any part of the universe, above or below. It comes out that this same service, or ministership, if I may so call it, “consists in power or authority to serve, “with which a man is invested by being consecrated to God “and his service in holy things, during term of life, whether he exercise that power or no.” Admirable! A man may be consecrated to a service, the service of God too!

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* See Voltaire's Hist. of Russia, vol. II.

in which he may do something, or do nothing, just as he pleases; and if he should never do any thing, he is yet a servant of God in holy things, during term of life! It may be so. But what wages may he look for at the end of his term of life? What would *you* think yourself bound to give a servant, who engages to serve you, for a certain space, and yet never put his hand to your work? It is a million to one, if you would not prosecute and punish him for breach of contract; and no body can dispute your right to do so. Has not Hooker's servant, who is consecrated to God and his service in holy things, during term of life, and yet never exercises the power thus conferred on him, good reason to expect punishment instead of reward? If we do not entirely misapprehend the whole scope of the gospel of Christ, this is what he has to look for at the last. If a man chooses to assume a travelling title, it were better that he take that of Count, or Marquis, or some such designation, than that he should call himself Bishop or Priest. By the former, he only gives offence at the herald's office, and makes himself ridiculous. By the latter, he affronts God and religion.

LETTER XLVI.



IT would have been to the honour of your judgment, and it would have manifested a degree of candor highly reputable to a christian divine, if you had begun and ended your defence of the validity of your orders, against what you call Dr. Campbell's "strange attack," with the *apology* you make for the erection of your Episcopal College, and with insisting, that your church is warranted by reason, and by no means prohibited in the scriptures (which say little about the *orders* of ministers, however much they speak about their *qualifications* and *virtues*) to transmit the apostolical commission in that particular way, which her circumstances, for the time, render, or appear to you to render, most expedient. By this plan you would, indeed, have given up your *succession*. But this would have been only to surrender a fortress, which you cannot defend with weapons taken from the armoury of scripture and sound reason. You appear to me to have pursued, upon the whole, the worst method possible.

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You begin with a *defence* of your Episcopal College, and end with a whining apology for the erection of that unparalleled edifice. There is a manifest inconsistency here.— If your College of Bishops be *defensible*, on the principles of christianity and sound reason, it needs no *excuse*; it wants only to be explained, and set in its proper light. By attempting to *excuse* it, from the circumstances into which your church was thrown soon after the Revolution, you invalidate your *defence*.

We have examined the Anti-jacobin's *defence*; for it is he who is, in reality, the champion. Let us now attend to the *excuse* of Bishop Skinner, who is the apologist.

You honestly avow,* that your collegiate form “now appears to you unsuitable and improper,” and that even while it subsisted, “it was far from being acceptable to the clergy in general, or to the great body of the laity, who adhere to your communion.” But you entreat us not to condemn it, till we candidly consider the *motives*, which occasioned its adoption.† Here, I must observe, that, in a case of this sort, no motives can render that suitable and proper, which is, in its own nature, unsuitable and improper. Your collegiate form either was primitive apostolic order, to which you consider yourselves sacredly bound to adhere, or it was not. If it was primitive order, it signifies nothing from what motives you adopted it; for, your motives could not render the plan itself unsuitable and improper, however they might affect the merit of your adoption of it. But if it was not primitive order, which your church seemed to acknowledge, when it departed from it, and returned to Diocesan Episcopacy, and which
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* Vind. p. 391, 393.

† Ibid.

you confess, by saying that it seems to you “ unfuitable
“ and improper ;” no motives, be they ever so laudable,
could alter its nature, and make it primitive order ; other-
wise proper motives would justify you in employing Dea-
cons to consecrate Bishops, and ordain Priests. The om-
nipotence, that you, unwittingly I suppose, ascribe to
motives in your apology, is the most dangerous doctrine
that is imputed to the most dangerous order of ecclesiastics,
that ever existed in the christian church. Now for the mo-
tives themselves.

LETTER XLVII.

YOU call our attention * to the pitiable distresses of your clergy, when they were ejected from their livings, and *violently and barbarously driven* from their former possessions.

I feel for human woe, and consequently for the distresses of your ejected clergy, as well as you do. But I cannot help remarking, that your language, on this subject, would probably have been less impassioned, and acrimonious, if you had recollected, that some of your readers may be as well acquainted with the history of the period as the clergy of High Church, and may know, that not more than twenty-seven years before, the Presbyterian clergy were driven from *their* possessions, to which they had a *better* right, in a manner inexpressibly more violent and barbarous, and were, *at the instigation* of their Episcopal successors, good *primitive apostolic* men! harassed, persecuted, hunted as if they had been wild beasts, and when they were driven to madness

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* Vind. p. 391, et sequ.

on design, then massacred in the field, or hanged on a gibbet, and their goods confiscated. Presbytery was the established religion of the country before the family of Stuart ascended the throne of England, and was the religion of the first of that family, who reigned over the whole island. It was, by him, by that very monarch, who both professed it, and extolled it to the skies, deprived of its legal establishment. But it got the better of all its enemies, when the nation appealed to arms in defence of their religious and civil liberty, and it made its oppressors tremble in their turn, Charles II. when he was in Scotland, solemnly engaged to maintain and defend it; he renewed his promises to the same effect, at his restoration; and then he subverted Presbytery! The Presbyterian clergy in 1661, had, I contend, an infinitely better right to the possessions from which they were ejected, than the Episcopal clergy had to *their* possessions in 1689. The right of the latter was, indeed, founded upon statute: but that statute itself violated all law, human and divine, and was an outrage to all moral and religious sentiment,—to say nothing of the means by which it was procured, and which, we all know, were bad enough. Do you really think, that a few men, several of them of the most profligate and infamous character (Charles II. and his court reformers of religion!) had a right to prescribe to the great body of this nation, the *manner* in which they were to worship their God, and prepare their souls for eternity? Had the court the same title to order the Scots to put off the religion of their fathers, which themselves preferred to any other, that the Lord Chamberlain has to order the going into mourning, or a change from black to grey in the dress of the court itself? You seem to regard Erastian notions with very decent horror; and you reprobate the opinions of those, “who would make the civil power superior to apostolic institution.” You are very

right in this ; and I presume, you give all due credit to Presbyterians, in the time of Charles II. for their sincerity in thinking, what you think of *your ecclesiastical order*, that Presbytery is founded on “apostolic institution.” Yet, while, in opposition to the clearest evidence, you deny,* that the Bishops of this island, from the time of Henry VIII. have held *their bishoprics*, as well the spiritualities as the temporalities thereof, of the imperial crown of this realm, the king of England having been, since that time, really and truly the Pope of England ; it seems never to have occurred to you, that there is any thing Erastian, any thing anti-christian, in the king’s majesty changing the religion of the country from Presbytery to Episcopacy, in spite of a great majority of his subjects, and in violation of his own solemn oaths and engagements ! He may compel his subjects to be of whatever religion he pleases, though it were Mahometanism. But it must not be thought, that he has, or can have, any concern, directly or indirectly, in conferring their spiritual powers upon Bishops !

I would not be understood to insinuate, that the mutual persecutions of Scotch Presbyterians and Episcopalians, at the different periods when each of their respective professions was obliged to yield to the other in its turn, are ascribable to the spirit of their respective religions. They were the fault of the age, and, from the restoration of Charles II. to the Revolution, the fault of a government the most profligate and unfeeling, that ever existed in Britain. I am proud, however, that I can remark with truth, that, so much milder and more tolerant and forgiving, was the government

* You assert, p. 382, that no Presbyterian, no true christian, will say, that the ejected Bishops derived a right to their spiritual cure from the State, &c.

vernment both in church * and state after the Revolution, than was the government before that glorious and happy era, that many of the Episcopal clergy, who gave the common pledge of loyalty, and even many who were notoriously disloyal, and openly joined those who caballed against the existing government, were suffered to live and die in the possession of their charges, and the enjoyment of their livings.† There were no military executions, no intercommunings, no confiscation of goods, no hanging nor burning, on account of religious profession, after the Revolution. The government kept a watchful eye over the Jacobites, and laid them under restrictions and disabilities, which they themselves did not much relish: but this was on the score of policy, not of religion.

You inform us that the severity, which your party met with, and which, by no ordinary perversion of language, [Yy] you call *strange* and *unexpected*, kindled a resentment, which was not likely to be soon extinguished (it burned long enough, Heaven knows; and I will not answer for its being quite extinguished even at this day!) and determined your ejected clergy to throw themselves entirely into the arms of the exiled family, and to share its fortunes: that many of the persecuted (say *disloyal*) clergy were *obliged* to depend for protection and support on the friends of that family, and, “in consequence of that dependance, were “influenced by the wishes and opinions of their patrons.”‡ You next, with most laudable honesty and candor, acknowledge, that *some* of the ejected clergy were inclined to E-

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* See Dr. Edwards' Sermon on the Union.

† See Life of Mr. Carstares, and Letters and State Papers.

[Yy] See Notes.

‡ *Any* thing for bread!

raffianism, and considered the mitre and the crown to be necessarily connected. This, you confess, was the *prevailing* opinion at the time; and that it was so, will excite no surprize in any person, who knows any thing about the foundation, on which the Episcopacy of this island has rested, ever since Henry VIII. threw off the papal yoke.—Your *some* of the ejected clergy, though you call them an *inconsiderable* part, would seem to have been a majority in respect of influence, if not of numbers: for they prevailed so far, that their *new* scheme for the government of the church by an Episcopal College, the members of which had no charge nor local jurisdiction, was proposed to “the King over the water.” His Majesty no sooner heard of the scheme, than it received his royal approbation; his Majesty having been, I suspect, fully as ignorant of the ecclesiastical canons, and the constitution of primitive Episcopacy, as were his grandees and prelates in Scotland.—Nay, his Majesty, who was, like the rest of his *family* (if he was really a Stuart) very tenacious of his royal prerogatives, immediately exercised the right, which had been long vested in the crown, and sent over his Congé d’elire, in consequence of which “a few promotions were made in the Episcopal College.”

You tell this story with no small degree of address, though not in very few words. But, though you strive to make the best excuse for your Episcopal College that you can, you cannot conceal your conviction, that the scheme was *inconsiderately* adopted and sanctioned. And it really was so. But this is not surprizing; for resentment is ordinarily the parent of rash counsels: and you confess, that to resentment we may, ultimately, refer the erection of your Episcopal College. It happened in this case, as it happens in many others, that your church, instead of being
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avenged of her adversaries, in reality poured forth her wrath upon herself. She dug a pit; and it was the fanciful validity of her own orders, that was buried in it. You confess that your collegiate form was quite new, having never been heard of before. This acknowledgment does not agree very well with Cyprian's *corpus sacerdotum*, so triumphantly brought forward by the Anti-jacobin, nor with Athanasius' college of vagabond clerks, with which the same inventor of rare arguments brings us acquainted. No matter. The defenders of High Church are in the practice of elbowing, and jostling, and contradicting each other. But I am quite amazed that *you* should, wilfully and deliberately, contradict *yourself*. Who would believe, unless he were to read your book, that the Vindicator of *Primitive Order* not only admits, but strenuously commends, that a channel for the conveyance of the stream of Episcopal succession, which is entirely *new*, and altogether without a parallel; a channel, which neither the apostles, nor the Bishops, their successors, of the first three centuries, no, nor the Bishops of the first *seventeen* centuries, ever once thought of; a channel, which the canons reprobate as absolutely impassable, and which common sense cannot hear mentioned without a contemptuous sneer—is a proper and sufficient channel for transmitting the apostolical commission from age to age? What kind of a mode of conveying orders can that be, in the opinion of High Church, which has the sanction neither of *antiquity*, nor of *universality*, nor of *consent*? I grant that your College Bishops could transmit to others what they had themselves received; and you, I hope, will grant to me in return, that they could not give to others what they had not themselves. Now, I contend, that if *antiquity*, *universal consent*, and *common sense*, have not all conspired to deceive us, your College Bishops received *nothing* at their consecration in addition to what they had before, and that

the *distress and resentment of your church* after the Revolution were, by no means, sufficient to supply all defects in the orders of its Bishops.

Your own church was once of my mind, whatever it may be now; for it dissolved its Episcopal College in a few years, and returned to the diocesan plan. Why did it so, if your College Bishops were “apostles in the strictest sense of the word,” and if the collegiate was not only the *apostolic* form, but the form for the first three centuries? Your sudden departure from it, after you had stumbled upon it by chance, or thought yourselves forced to adopt it by the necessity of your situation, was, whether you found it *expedient* and generally acceptable or not, anti-apostolical, anti-primitive, and, therefore, if the principles maintained in your book be not utterly indefensible, anti-christian: and it shews, that, when it suits your convenience, you can equally disregard the admonitions of Providence, and the discoveries of grace.

In truth, you and your learned allies, by your answer to the Lecturer’s *argumentum ad hominem*, have contrived to place your church, with its high pretensions to divinity, in the most awkward situation imaginable. Two forms, so very dissimilar as the diocesan and collegiate, cannot, I should think, be equally divine, nor equally fit for transmitting the apostolical commission. Your spiritual progenitors adhered to the diocesan form from the time of its introduction into the church, till after the Revolution in Britain. Then they suddenly, on the spur of the occasion, demolished this model of venerable antiquity, which has the sanction of age, and of universality and consent, and erected the collegiate form on its ruins. By and by the clergy and people began to think, that all was not right; that

that they had “founded a society for the salvation of mankind,” which was not altogether of primitive structure, and, therefore, not a fit depositary of the apostolical commission; and they pulled it down, and raised, in its room, a fabric of more ancient architecture. What, in the meantime, became of the apostolic commission? Where had it lodged, from the time that the college was erected, till it was pulled down again, to make way for the diocesan model? With your College Bishops? If you say so, you destroy, with your own hands, more than two-thirds of the reasoning in your Vindication of Primitive Truth and Order; nay, I may say, you raze your whole system to the foundation. For you thus admit, that *any conceivable* form of ecclesiastical polity can transmit the apostolical commission; and I call upon you to name any form, in any age or nation, since the plantation of the first christian churches by the apostles, that differs more from Diocesan Episcopacy, than the form of your church, while its highest officers had no flocks to oversee, and possessed no authority nor jurisdiction over any flock or people on earth, differed from the ancient model, to which it soon returned. If, on the other hand, you admit, that the commission, which our Lord gave to his apostles, was not lodged with your College Bishops, whose ordination, as we have seen, was no ordination at all, you thereby acknowledge, that your Episcopal succession *has failed*, and, consequently, that the ministers of our establishment are as certainly the lineal successors of the apostles as the dignitaries of High Church.

APPENDIX.



LETTER XLVIII.



I HAVE now accomplished what I proposed as the object of the Second Part of Presbyterian Letters, having enquired, with humble reverence, into the *validity, on your own principles*, of the clerical orders of the Scotch Episcopal Church. I must once more declare, that I have no objection to the validity of your orders on *any* principles but your own, and do believe, that you may, warrantably, continue your Episcopal succession in any way that you please, if your plan be not an insult to religion and to common sense. And, whatever your orders may be, in respect of what you call *validity*; if you preach the pure doctrines of christianity, and administer its institutions in their original simplicity, I heartily wish you all possible success, and “bid you God speed.”

After telling you, with my usual frankness, what those of us, who are not bigotted Presbyterians, nor unreasonably attached to any thing that can be called mere form in religion, think of Episcopacy in general, and of the genius and spirit of Scotch Episcopacy in particular, in so far at least, as its genius and spirit are exhibited in your works—I shall make my bow, and take leave.

LETTER

LETTER XLIX.

THOUGH you demonstrate neither the divine origin, nor the unrivalled utility of a hierarchy in the church of Christ, I know of no sound interpreter of scripture, and of no rational and liberal writer on ecclesiastical polity, who denies, that a hierarchy, such as that which is established in England, is not only lawful, but may, in certain circumstances, be highly expedient. We happen to have no particular use for it in this northern part of the island; and, indeed, it suits neither our minds nor our fortune. The truth is, that “ though the English hierarchy has been “ proved, by experience, to be admirably adapted to the “ country where it was framed, the same experience has “ shewn, that it is not equally fitted for any other people. “ It has been tried in Scotland, Ireland, and America, but “ without success.”*

But if I do not entirely mistake the genius and spirit of that kind of hierarchy, which you recommend as *apostolical* and

* Edin. Review, vol. VIII. p. 314.

and therefore *divine*, it resembles that of England in nothing but external form, and not altogether even in form ; and it is, in its genius and spirit, and some of its professed doctrines, more nearly allied to *another* church, to which you are pleased to liken the *establishment* of your native country. I beg your particular attention to the illustration of this avowment ; for I am particularly anxious to teach you, if possible, instead of crying out, when you are puzzled with some Presbyterian arguments, “ I smell Popery ! this is *so* “ like the language of the *scarlet* whore !” to clear *yourself* from all suspicion of holding some of the most indefensible tenets of the Church of Rome, and of breathing its monopolizing and domineering spirit. Perhaps you will impute this exposure of your principles to a thirst of revenge. You may do so, if you please. I shall, however, endeavour to shew, that I have a more laudable object in view, than the pleasure of retorting a senseless reproach. But to the purpose of this Epistle.

1. At the end of your introduction to the *Vindication of Primitive Truth and Order*,* you declare, that the ungainly portrait of “ a great majority of your countrymen,” which you present to the world, and the sentence of condemnation, which you pronounce on all, who are not of your mind in every thing connected with religion, “ cannot justly be im-
 “ puted to any want of true charity, or what deserves to be
 “ called liberality, no more than uncharitableness and illi-
 “ berality can be imputed to a physician, who forbids his
 “ patients to eat or drink what will hurt them ; or to a Bri-
 “ tish lawyer, who recommends to his clients to study the
 “ laws of his country in preference to those of France or
 “ Russia ; [Zz] or to the commander of armies, who does
 “ not

* P. 25, 26.

[Zz] See Notes.

“ not leave his troops on the day of battle, without orders
 “ or instructions of any kind, nor suffer them to fight the
 “ enemy in the way that seems best to their own judg-
 “ ment.”

Let me ask, whether you ever recollect, while you are defending High Church, that you “ are in the body,” as well as they who differ from you, and have no better pretensions to inspiration than they? Your vindication of your charitable and liberal spirit is, I confess, very ingenious. [3 A] It wants only one thing to make it completely satisfactory, I mean the production of a commission from heaven, constituting the Senior Bishop of the Scotch Episcopal Church the Spiritual Physician General, the Spiritual Attorney-General, and the Commander-in-Chief *in Spirituallities*, of the whole human race; which, you know, implies a certificate from above (the exhibition of half a dozen miracles, or of something equally supernatural) that the said Primus knows every thing necessary to salvation, and cannot err. In reality, your vindication of yourself from the imputation of illiberality and intolerance, is not distinguishable from the Popish claim to *infallibility*; and, if, with the British Critic, we admit that it is satisfactory, we can deny you none of the powers and prerogatives, that were ever claimed by *the man of sin*. That you have not appealed in support of your claim to the spiritual government of all mankind, to those wonders and signs, to which your rival at Rome appeals in support of his claim to the same universal empire; this is, I must say, a great omission,—and it *may* prove fatal to your views of absolute dominion over the consciences of all christians. And yet, who can say what **will happen**? This is a period of the world, which has produced

duced strange and unexpected events already; and, for aught I know, it may be big with events still *more* strange than any that we have seen. Hence, it would not, in my opinion, be inexcusably imprudent, to be looking about you for a house, that might be converted into “the palace of the Inquisition!”

Do you stare at this, as the superfluity of extravagant nonsense? You need not. Admit only the claim you advance in the passage under review, as a like claim advanced by the Pope was admitted in days of other years, and your right to extirpate heretics and schismatics, in the manner to which I allude, or in any manner that is agreeable to yourself, would be only *one* of the many prerogatives exercised by the Church of Rome, to which you would have the same title with her.

2. It would not be consistent with the very lowest pretension to infallibility, if you were a friend to the right of private judgment in religion; to the exercise of which we are indebted, under God, for the reformation. And, truly, you do not favour it more than is meet. You oppose the liberty, which the people in all the Protestant churches have ever enjoyed, of consulting the word of God, although you well know, that our Lord himself preached the gospel not merely to the apostles, but to all, indiscriminately, and more especially to the poor; from which I am disposed to infer, that He, who made them, knew that they were capable of comprehending what he preached. If I understand you right, you mean to express indignant contempt of the notion that the scriptures contain *all* the words of eternal life. [3 B] The Church of Rome joins you heartily on this

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point:

point. You are not so honest as that church, which frankly tells us, that the scriptures are both defective and obscure, in the information they furnish, and therefore need the aid of *tradition*, which both interprets the information they give, and supplies what information they do not give. On the subject of the constitution of the church, you speak out a little better afterwards, and teach us, that scripture cannot decide the controversy about ecclesiastical polity; and that, therefore, in order to have sufficient light upon this “*important subject*,” we must have recourse to the Fathers, whose testimony is nothing more nor less than *Tradition*. “To whom then shall we have recourse,* &c.”—and so you refer us to the Fathers.—That you may, if possible, frighten us all from depending on the knowledge of the terms of salvation that is to be acquired by searching the scriptures, you ask, with a decisive air, “Has a man no-
 “thing more to do, in order to be made a christian, than
 “to go to a bookseller’s shop, and purchase a bible, that he
 “may peruse it at his leisure, and interpret as he thinks
 “fit?” I would ask, in return, Is not this the very thing that “a man” *should* do, if he wish “to be made a” real
 “christian?” Do you recommend to any body, first to profess christianity, and then begin to enquire what it is? But I beg your pardon; let a man only profess christianity, and the *church*, the holy mother of us all, that is, the clergy, will do all the rest for him. It belongs to the church, and not to private christians, to interpret scripture, as *she* thinks fit. This is your doctrine; it is also that of Holy Mother at Rome. And it implies one of two things; either that the clergy of your church cannot possibly err (however ignorant and stupid some of them may be) in interpreting scripture for their people; or that, if it should happen that they

* Vind. p. 210.

they lead the people into any damnable error, they will, as St. Bernard expresses it, be content to be damned *for* them at the last; which, you know, if they mislead them, is but fair. But you go a step farther, than even the Church of Rome, on the danger of permitting the people to interpret *anything* connected with their salvation; for you cover two pages * in labouring to prove, that they cannot interpret the thoughts and feelings of their own mind and heart, and cannot, without evident peril to their souls, trust to *their own consciousness*, till they submit their said conscioufness to the judgment and decision of the *church!*

3. You speak † of administrators of the sacraments of Christ, who are *empowered* to bless in his name, and on whose blessing, of consequence, the efficacy of those sacraments depends. - What can this doctrine signify to your church, or to any other christian hierarchy, unless it imply, that Christ cannot bless his own institutions, but through the ministry of Priests, who derive their authority from him, through an uninterrupted Episcopal succession? This, with the infallibility to which she lays claim, is the very foundation on which the Church of Rome builds her right to a monopoly of all the benefits of our Lord's sufferings and death; and it does not merely constitute Priests, who are duly authorized, Christ's Vicars upon earth: it, in truth, raises them *above* the King and the Head of the church, who, it would seem, has resigned into their hands, as the German Orator, quoted before, would make us believe, his own free agency in the government of those, whom he redeemed with his blood.

4. You virtually maintain, ‡ that ignorance is the mother

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* P. 109, 110.

† Id. p. 103.

‡ Vind. p. 12.

ther of devotion, and the nurse of virtue. For, to the easy access, which we have in Scotland, to the general acquisition of knowledge, you ascribe all the spiritual disorders of this wicked country, in which you have the misfortune to live;—our infidelity, our vile hypocrisy, our inclination to extravagance and riot, in which, very luckily, our extreme poverty does not suffer us to indulge, and our endless diversity of religious opinions. I need not mention to you the mint, wherein *this* doctrine was originally coined.

5. You tell us, in a tone of high, nay, of sublime, indignation at “an unworthy comparison” used by the Lecturer, that it is to the *church* that men must owe their salvation, that is, I suppose, to Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, and not to God and themselves; for that the *church* is “the society, founded by the Son of God for the salvation of mankind.”*

That I do not impose an uncandid interpretation on the words just quoted, is evident from the general scope and tendency of your “*Vindication*,” but more particularly, from your adoption of the sentiments of an author, from whose decision, on any given subject, you seem to think, there lies no appeal. The author to whom I allude, is the Rev. William Jones, of Nayland in Suffolk; who says, that the ark of Noah, which saved the remains of the old world, was the pattern and pledge of the church of Christ, which saves both the old world and the new.†

I am sorry to observe, but how can *I* help it? that the reverend divine of Nayland happens to differ from St. Peter, of

* Vind. p. 141.

† See Vind. p. 442. 443.

of which you will be convinced, by turning to the passage referred to on the margin.* It is *Baptism*, and not the *church*, which the apostle compares to the ark of Noah, floating on the waters of the deluge, and saving all who were in it. And what baptism? The putting away of the filth of the flesh by the church? No—but that of which the washing with water is only a significant emblem—“the answer of a good conscience toward God”—that internal purification, which the scriptures express by our “putting off the old man, with all his affections and lusts, and putting on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness.” *This* is Peter’s ark.

But the fishermen of Galilee must, somehow or other, have mistaken this matter, if what Solomon says be true, that “two are better than one:” for the Rev. William Jones, and the Senior Bishop of Scotland, maintain, that it is *not* that baptism, which consists in the answer of a good conscience towards God, but the church, of which the ark of Noah was the pattern and pledge (Oh Mr. Hutchinson, what do we not owe to thee!) “that doth now save us:”—and, since *they* will have it so, I shall say no more about the matter.

What, then, do we learn from the ark of Noah being the pattern and pledge of the church? “Now let us ask,” saith Mr Jones, “what became of those who were out of the *ark*? The parallel” (ay, the parallel, which the scriptures do not state) “will suggest what great danger there must be to those who are out of the *church*,” that is the Church of England, [3 C] as by *human* laws established; for all sincere christians, of every denomination,

B b 3

think

* 1 Pet. iii. 20, 21.

[3 C] See Notes.

think that they are in the church of Christ.—Even so, Mr. Jones. As those of the old world, who were out of the *ark*, were drowned in water; so those of the new world, who are out of the church, cannot fail to be drowned in fire and brimstone; which must needs be a very pleasant contemplation to all true sons of *the church*.

This is a comfortable provision, which Mr. Jones and you have made, in the fulness of “the milk of human kindness, that flows cheerily along in your veins,” for all the Presbyterians, and other dissenters in England, and for “a great majority of the inhabitants of the land in which we live,” as well as for all the churches of the *reformed* every where; and it shews us, how much more *christian* is the spirit of High Church, in this enlightened and liberal age, than that of the intolerant, domineering, damning church, which we left at the Reformation. [3 D]

But Mr. Jones’ “parallel suggests” more than he or you have been graciously pleased to mention. If the ark was verily and indeed the pattern and pledge of the church, which I am disposed to admit, although St. Peter was of another mind; “the parallel suggests” that, as they, who were saved in the ark, had no exertion to make, but only in stepping in, and nothing to do, when they were within-side, but to sit or stand, with folded arms, and be saved; so, in order to be saved by the church, we have only to enter it, to sit or stand where we can find room, and be carried to heaven, just as the eight persons who were in the ark, were carried to the top of Mount Ararat. The church, it appears from Mr. Jones’ parallel, is the most commodious receptacle, for sinners and saints, that can be
con-

conceived. It saves you, without requiring you to do any thing but enter it, just as a passage boat carries you from one side of a river to the other, if only you pay the fare; which, you know, must be done in the church, as well as in the boat, because clergymen, as well as watermen, must live.

But Mr. Jones was ignorant of *another* accommodation to be found in the *church*; at least, he has left it to you to reveal it to all good people. We discover, in a passage,* repeatedly referred to before, that if we please to put out our eyes, in order to prevent our beholding vanity, or to cut off our feet, to save the expence of shoes and boots, the church will be *eyes* and *feet* to us; and if we do not well know what passes in our own minds, we have only to ask the church, and she will tell us what we are *conscious* of.

It is no wonder, that all who are under the guidance and protection of *the church*, call her *Holy Mother*. I will venture to say, that a more *motherly* Lady is not to be found on the earth. I should only be afraid, that she is *too* tender and indulgent, and runs the risque of hurting the health of her children, by not insisting on their taking exercise enough. For *holiness*, she cannot be exceeded. The only misfortune is, that she keeps it all to herself, and does not seem to be sensible, that her *offspring* would be the better for a small portion of it. However, if she can save them with her *own* holiness, it will do. We, who are aliens, have no title to interfere between relations so nearly connected.

I have long been in search of such a particular description

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* Vind. p. 109, 110.

tion of *the church*, as would enable me to know that valuable matron at sight. But I have never yet met with it.— To be sure, the XIXth Article of the Church of England pretends to describe the visible church of Christ. But that description answers so well to *our* miserable *establishment* in Scotland, that I have no faith in it. *You* also give us a definition of *the church*,* for the purpose of putting the Lecturer's account of her out of countenance. But as my evil stars would have it, I do not understand you; not because you have too *few* words, but because you have too *many*; just as some people do not hear their preacher, because he speaks too loud. But I think I have collected, from the general scope of your *Vindication*, what you consider to be the church, “which doth now save us;” and it is a suitable establishment of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, who, in consequence of their Episcopal ordination, are authorized to lead all other christians to heaven blindfold; taking special care, that they do not ruin themselves by the way, “by going to booksellers' shops, and purchasing bibles, and perusing them at their leisure, and interpreting “as they think fit.” Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, as their general designation, to wit, *clergy*, evidently imports, are “God's *peculium*, or special inheritance,” and, therefore, they alone are, properly, the church. There was once a dispute between a Pope and a King of France upon this subject; his holiness insisting, that the clergy, *only*, are *the church* “which Christ purchased with his blood,” and the king presuming to say on the other hand, that Christ died for the *laity*, as well as the clergy. The king, in my opinion, had the better in the argument: yet the Pope and his successors carried their point. Accordingly, at this day, and for several centuries past, when men speak
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* Vind. p. 140, 141.

of "*the church*," they are always understood to mean the clergy. And, indeed, who else can be said to be "eyes to the blind, and feet to the lame," in their way to heaven?

I do not recollect to have seen the necessity of *implicit* reliance on the knowledge and fidelity of our spiritual guides, so distinctly inculcated, in the works of any Protestant divine, as it is in *The Vindication of Primitive Truth and Order*, by the Senior Bishop of the Scotch Episcopal Church. In vain you attempt to repel this charge, by urging, that it is only in *one* case that you recommend *implicit* faith, I mean, where there is a want of "the knowledge and capacity necessary for tracing the faint outlines of ancient establishment, and forms of government, and for entering into dark and critical questions about the import of names and titles, or for examining the authenticity of endless genealogies." If a man, in *choosing his religion*, rely implicitly on the skill and fidelity of his teachers, where is he to stop, and begin to think for himself? You contend, that his choice of the church, to which he is to adhere, is decisive of his everlasting condition, and that, if he do not get into Mr. Jones' ark, in particular, he must be drowned irrecoverably. If it concerns him, then, to think and enquire for himself on *any* subject whatever, the church, in which he can be saved, is, unquestionably, that subject. If he yield implicit faith to teachers and spiritual guides in this grand concern, he may very warrantably make it a rule to "believe as the church believes" on every other article of faith; and, indeed, he is well prepared for resigning his understanding to the guidance of his Bishop, or his parish minister. Only, to prevent perplexity and doubt, he must hear no more but one party; for the cry of bigotted clergymen, of *all* denominations, is, "Ours alone"

“ alone is the church, of which the ark is the pattern and “ pledge.”

6. I have already remarked, upon some occasion or other, that, by founding your hierarchy on the Jewish model, which did not admit but one High Priest or Bishop in the whole church at a time, and by contending, that James was raised to the Episcopate by the apostles, and, “ by his “ decisive sentence, put an end to the controversies” that occurred among them, you contend, not indeed for the Popish supremacy, but for a supremacy as anti-christian and as ruinous (for, if we *must have* a Pope, he is as harmless at Rome, as he would be at Jerusalem;) and though you set up a rival to the pretended successor of St. Peter, yet you attempt to justify *his* usurpation, by endeavouring to prove, that Popery was instituted by the apostles of Christ. And, indeed, if it be true, that James possessed the authority with which you, for your own purposes, have invested him, and that we cannot depart from primitive apostolic order without mortal sin; it is manifest, that it is only under the dominion of a universal Bishop, that men can be saved; and, considering your age and mine, there are at least two Bishops in Europe, who have not begun their journey to Rome before it is too late.

7. To the marks of the *true church*, which I have pointed out in this epistle, marks, which I suspect, are not all Protestant, I may add the account you give of the *eucharist*,—your service, at the celebration of which, you are authorized by an Act of Parliament to say, “ was composed by the aid of the Holy Ghost.”

Mr. Daubeny, in compliment, I suppose, to the public creed of the Church of England, of which he is now a dignitary,

nitary, pronounces *your* eucharistic service, and the “idea, “which your church has on this sacred subject,” more *primitive* than the doctrine and service of his own church; and this you quote * as a most respectable testimony in favour of your eucharistic service. Hence, I cannot help remarking, Mr. Daubeny’s adherence to a church, which rewards his labours somewhat more liberally than your church could reward them, manifests, on Scotch Episcopal maxims, some portion of that *ductility of principle*, which you and the Anti-jacobin impute to our deceased Lecturer; such a portion at least as suffers his conscience to prefer a good living with the burden of a faulty eucharistic service, to poverty with a truly primitive eucharistic service. When among us, a clergyman lets us know, that he is not quite satisfied with any of the doctrines or modes of worship and government, which he became solemnly bound, at his ordination, to teach and maintain; we have a compendious but most effectual way, of setting his conscience at ease: we send him to the church, whose doctrine and worship he prefers to ours. But, it seems, things are not thus ordered in England; and, hence, there is no probability of your ever having the satisfaction of seeing the Archdeacon of Salisbury officiating at your eucharistic service.

That the doctrine of your church, on the subject of the eucharist, is not the doctrine of the Church of England, we learn by comparing the XXVIII. and XXXI. Articles of that church, with your doctrine in your Lectures, and Mr. Daubeny’s in the *Appendix* to his *Guide to the Church*.

The truth is, you endeavour to reconcile the *real presence* with the *real absence* of the body and blood of Christ in the

* Vind. p. 485, 486.

the eucharist; an attempt, which, so far as I know, was never made by any of the Doctors of the church of Rome, much less by the composers of the XXXIX. Articles. For, you assert that, "by means of the prayer of consecration," (which comes in the room of our Lord's giving of thanks) "the eucharistic *oblation** is made, and the bread and the cup do become the body and blood of Christ." But you immediately add. "We are not to imagine, that they are made the very natural flesh and blood of Christ." No? When they *become* the body and blood of Christ, what *are* they made, if it be not the very natural flesh and blood of Christ? "These sacred elements, therefore, are only in power and efficacy, and to *all intents and purposes*, the body and blood of Christ." Put this luminous and self-consistent explanation of a rite, which needs no explanation, into one sentence, and it runs thus: "After the prayer of consecration, the bread and the cup in the eucharist do become the body and blood of Christ, but not the very natural flesh and blood of Christ, and yet the body and blood of Christ to all intents and purposes."† What can this mean? It is neither *μετεσσια*, nor *συνεσσια*, nor *διεσσια*. But I will tell you what it is. It is transubstantiation and *not* transubstantiation. Away with this jumble of contradiction and mystical jargon, and give me the Romish tenet! I cannot believe in transubstantiation: no man in his senses ever did, or ever will, believe in it. But though it be obviously and manifestly false, it is, at least, intelligible, and presents a distinct idea to the mind, which one can examine and reason about.

You

* As if "Take, eat, do this in remembrance of me," prescribed an oblation!

† See Skinner's VI. Lecture in Lent.

You tell us,* that “one great reason, why *we*, who call *ourselves* ministers of the gospel, deny that there is any proper sacrifice to be offered in the christian church, is, because our *commission* is not such as would justify our meddling with that *essential*, that awful part of the Priestly office.” Really? Do you believe, that we think *our commission* inferior to that of any of the spiritual progeny of Simon the forcerer, of the numberless *thieves and robbers*, that have, in so many ages, entered the sheepfold, not by the door, but by some other way,—of Henry VIII. of England, and all the sovereigns, save one, that have sat upon the throne of Britain after him,—of James VI.’s unbaptized unordained Scottish Bishops, who renounced the religion of their fathers for a mitre,—and of the Utopian Prelates, at the mention of whose *orders* the defenders of the Scotch Episcopal Church become drunk with passion, and almost frantic? Do not deceive yourself, “Right Reverend Sir.” We are not so *modest* as you suppose. If we believed, that we have, as christian ministers, any proper sacrifice to offer, we would offer it as boldly as you offer up what is not a sacrifice; because we believe our *commission* to be, even on the principles which you yourself affect to hold, fully *better* than yours. We are nowise “terrified,” you may depend upon it, “at the thoughts of performing” any functions that really belong to the ministers of Christ. But I will tell you what we “are terrified at the thoughts” of doing. We would not, for the world, *invent* a sacrifice for ourselves, as you and the Church of Rome have done; nor would we, merely for the honour of calling our ministers Priests, convert our communion tables into altars, which are a sort of furniture in a church, that christians never thought of for the first three cen-

* VI. Lecture in Lent.

centuries. We believe the scriptures, which assure us that Jesus Christ is the *only* Priest of Christians, having, “by *one*” “offering perfected for ever them that are sanctified,” and thus abolished sacrifices world without end. To set up rivals or coadjutors to Him,—to shew, by sacrifices of *our own invention*, that we do not altogether depend, for our acceptance with God, on the *one* sacrifice, with which our Creator declared himself well pleased, by raising the Victim from the dead;—the very idea of this, does, I acknowledge, “terrify” the stoutest heart amongst us, and make it tremble.*

As you have *kindly* communicated to us the reason, why we “deny, that there is any proper sacrifice to be offered “in the christian church;” and as I should be sorry to be exceeded in kindness, I beg leave to return the favour, by communicating to you, explicitly, the reason why, as I think, you convert an action of blessing and thanksgiving into a proper sacrifice. Among other possessions, which you inherit from the Church of Rome, your venerable ancestor, there has been transmitted to the Scotch Episcopal Church, a very genteel portion of that Priestly pride and arrogance, which so long insulted the understanding, and trampled on the rights, of men in the West of Europe.—The title and dignity of servants of Christ in the gospel are too mean for *your* clergy! As, in their ranks and degrees, they affect the splendour of the Jewish hierarchy, so they delight in its names of office, in direct and manifest opposition

* *All* sacrifices, even among the Jews, did not require a *Priest* to officiate in them. The sacrifice of the passover, for instance, was killed by every father or master of a family, *after* the institution of the Priesthood, as well as before that institution took place. Hence, there is nothing so peculiarly awful in a sacrifice, but that even a *profane* layman may venture to engage in it.

sition to the examples set them in the New Testament, by men of infinitely more dignified and illustrious character. Not content with being servants of the High Priest of our profession, they would be his Vicars upon earth, and must be High Priests as well as He ! And as your clergy *must* be Priests, nothing is more necessary than to provide suitable religious offices for them *as* Priests, and suitable furniture in your places of worship ; for a Priest without an altar, and a proper sacrifice, to offer *upon that altar*, is just such an inconceivable sort of being, as a husband without a wife. You have nothing, I maintain, to bear you out in calling your clergy Priests (pontifices vel sacerdots) but your doctrine of the sacrifice of the eucharist. If you were to give up this doctrine, your Priesthood vanishes along with it, and you are reduced to a level with " Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ."

But, what kind of sacrifice is it that is offered in the eucharist ?

From your several answers to this query, we are taught, that the eucharist is a sacrifice of, almost, every kind that ever was offered or imagined.

1. The eucharist, according to you and Mr. Daubeny, is a *commemorative* sacrifice, and a *typical* sacrifice, by way of memorial of Christ's sacrifice on the cross.

If by typical, you mean that it is an emblem or representation, which brings to mind the broken body of our Lord, and his blood that was shed for us, you are perfectly right. But the type of a sacrifice is not necessarily a sacrifice, any more than the brazen serpent, and the rock which poured forth

forth waters in the desert, both which were types of Christ, were of the same nature with the Anti-type.

As the type or emblematical representation of a sacrifice is not necessarily a sacrifice, so neither is the *commemoration* of a sacrifice necessarily a sacrifice. A sacrifice in commemoration of a sacrifice! Where do you find any example of this? Some of the Jewish sacrifices were typical of Christ's sacrifice of himself, and were intended to *prefigure* it. But of a sacrifice, for preserving the memory of another sacrifice, heard I never!

2. You, and the Archdeacon of Salisbury, call the eucharist a sacrificial feast, or a feast upon a sacrifice. In this you are not original. But is there no inconsistency in calling it both a sacrifice, and a feast upon a sacrifice? Are these two the very same? or can one and the same act of religion be both? This feast upon a sacrifice was first celebrated the night before the victim was slain and offered up to God. Did you ever hear of a parallel to this? You allege* that "Christ, the night before his crucifixion, under the symbols of bread and wine, offered up his body and blood to God, as a sacrifice *to be slain* upon the cross." The offering up of a sacrifice *to be slain*, and a feast upon a sacrifice, the night before the victim was slain and offered up to God, are acts of devotion, of which I can find no example in the religious ceremonies of any nation. Among the Jews, in particular, sacrifices were never offered up till they were slain, and out of the hands of the Levites who killed them, nor did the feasts upon sacrifice begin, while the victims were alive, and were not as yet offered by the Priests.

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* Lect. in Lent. p. 134.

But in the institution of the eucharist, I can see no *offer-
ing up to God* prescribed; and when it was first celebrated, in fact nothing was offered up to God, but blessing and thanksgiving. The elements of bread and wine were not offered to God, but given to the apostles, not as a sacrifice, nor a sacrificial feast, but as the symbols or emblems of a sacrifice to be slain the next day. "Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples. And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them."* Do these actions imply the oblation of a proper sacrifice? Can you suppose any person, in his senses, capable of putting such a construction on them? You must certainly have considered your Episcopal authority, or your great eloquence, sufficient to bewitch all who heard, or might read, your Lectures in Lent, otherwise you would never have ventured to preach or publish such a sentence as the following: "Do this (that is, offer this bread and cup) in commemoration of me."† The passage, of which you give us this notable exposition, runs thus: "Take, eat, this is my body, which is broken for you; this do in remembrance of me. This cup is the new testament in my blood; this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me."‡ To what do the words "do this" refer? Is it not to "take, eat, as oft as ye drink it?" There is nothing else but those actions, and the giving of thanks, to which they *can* refer; for nothing else is mentioned in St. Paul's account of the institution. Whether "take, eat, drink ye all of it," be the most appropriate and intelligible terms, in which a sacrifice to God can be instituted, I will leave it even to *you* to decide. Only if you decide, that no terms

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* See Matth. xxvi. 26, 27. Mark xiv. 22, 23. Luke xxii. 19, 20.
1 Cor. xi. 23—25.

† Lect. in Lent, p. 134.

‡ 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25.

can be more appropriate and intelligible, I must insist, that, in the language of scripture, "Take" and "Give" signify the same action.

3. After pronouncing the eucharist to be a typical sacrifice, a commemorative sacrifice, and a feast upon a sacrifice, without shewing, or, indeed, being able to shew, that it is a proper sacrifice of any kind, you find out, in the end, that it is, what the Church of Rome calls it, and the Church of England, in her XXXI. Article, explicitly and firmly denies it to be, an expiatory or *propitiatory* sacrifice. You assert boldly, and, indeed on the justness of all your assertions respecting the benefits, which christians, of the *true church*, derive from the commemoration of our Lord's death, you stake the credibility of the whole New Testament (you assert) that "we receive the forgiveness of our sins by it." As you do not clog this most comfortable doctrine with *any* conditions, such as repentance, and holy purposes, and a change of life for the better; it holds forth great encouragement to partake of the eucharist with you, who are a Priest "called of God as was Aaron," (great encouragement) to them, especially, who have many sins to be forgiven, and would rather partake of a sacrificial feast, than amend their ways and their doings.

In support of your position, that we receive the forgiveness of our sins by the eucharist, you bring "proof of holy writ." To tell the truth, it needs support from very high authority.—"We receive the forgiveness of sin by it. "For so said our Lord, *This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins;*"* that is, the cup in the eucharist is the blood, the very
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* Lect. in Lent, p. 139.

blood, which was shed for many, for the remission of sins. If this be not what you mean, your quotation does not prove what it is brought to establish, and is, indeed, altogether impertinent to your purpose. And, if you mean this, you will permit me to say, that your transubstantiation of the cup in the eucharist into the blood of Christ is not very consistent with the *venerable* title, which, in imitation of your illustrious relative, whose language and manners you are fond of imitating, you give the eucharist, I mean, “our “*unbloody christian sacrifice.*”* I need scarcely remark here, for *every* body must see it, that, in the passage which you bring forward to convince us, that the commemoration of the death of Christ, which you call a sacrifice, confers the remission of sins, or, is a propitiatory sacrifice, our Lord instructs us only that his blood, not the symbol of his blood, was shed for the remission of the sins of many. This is so very obvious, that one is almost ashamed to mention it.

Upon the whole, if you do not receive the kiss of fraternity from the adorers of the sacrifice of the mass, they do not treat you as a *brother* ought to be treated. An “*unbloody sacrifice,*” which you first create, and then offer up; by which also we receive the forgiveness of sins; is undoubtedly the mass, “wherein the Priest offers Christ for “the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain and “guilt.”

“*Vera incessu patet Dea.*”

* Lect. in Lent. p. 137.

LETTER L.

IF "Popery and Presbytery do not differ in many things, so much as is generally imagined," it would appear from what has been stated in the last Letter, that *Scottish Prelacy* and Popery have, in some things, such a likeness as the poet describes, when he calls the likenesses, that was observable among some ladies of the *same family*,

"Qualis decet esse sororum."

And thus puts me in mind of "a tale that is told."

A Roman Catholic Priest, not quite a hundred miles from the archiepiscopal residence of our Primate, being engaged in argument with a Scotch Episcopal in your diocese, thought it proper to display, according to the usual plan of such gentlemen, when they are employed in perverting "filly" Protestants; (he displayed) Bellarmine's marks of a *true church*, every one of which he easily shewed, is imprinted on the Church of Rome, and is quite clear and intelligible. The woman (for it was a female Episcopal with whom he argued) unable to unravel the subtleties of the

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artful Roman Cardinal, by whom, you know, even such Presbyterians as our *Lecturer* are, often *taken in*, was soon reduced to her last defence of Scottish Episcopacy, and said, in the simplicity of an honest heart, "Our church is not *far from yours.*" "True," answered the son of Loyola, "and let me remind you, that a *monkey* is, of all creatures, "the most like to a *man*, and yet it is the ugliest of all animals." This did the business. The poor Episcopal gave up her religion, because it is nothing but an ugly likeness of the *ancient* religion; and in due time, she received "the eucharistic oblation," in the form of a wafer, and as the real body and blood of Christ, that she might thereby have remission of pain and guilt, whether alive or dead; and she would no longer receive it in the form of bread and wine, as the real body and blood, and yet not the real body and blood of her Redeemer, "by which we receive the forgiveness of sin." I have given my reasons for thinking that the woman acted sensibly.

Whether such occurrences happen frequently, I do not know. But the occurrence now related, I am well assured did happen. Perhaps *you* may be surprized at it: But *I* am not.

All true Protestants regard Popery (whatever brotherly kindness, charity, and esteem, they may feel for Papists) as an illiberal and pernicious superstition, the prevalence of which is unfavourable to the improvement of our nature, and to the best interests of mankind, both as citizens of this world, and expectants of a better. Hence we cannot, without a mixture of surprize and deep regret, behold a Protestant divine exhibiting the *spirit* of Popery in his writings; advancing some of its most arrogant pretensions, and avowing some of its most indefensible tenets and principles

to be the tenets and principles of *his* church. If your own people admit your pretensions to the high and sacred character to which you lay claim, and breathe the spirit, which your writings breathe, and believe all that you inculcate as divine truth; the sincere part of them are, like the woman mentioned above, well prepared for accounting a Scotch Episcopal such a disgusting likeness of a Roman Catholic, as a monkey is of a man; and for taking shame to themselves, so soon as this likeness is fairly set before them, for having been in a state of separation from Rome, and incurring the enormous guilt of schism, which their Senior Bishop cannot think of without horror. But this is not the worst.

Popery, bad as it is, is much better than infidelity, which the world, especially in the present age, feels to its cost, is worse than the worst religion that ever was professed in civilized society. But, unfortunately, Popery and infidelity have a mutual influence, and have, in many instances, been observed to be handmaids to each other. “The exhibition
“of the spirit and principles of Popery, where it is predominant,” says a pious writer,* “has been found but a
“sorry recommendation of christianity to philosophers;
“and hence, for one deist or atheist in Britain, you will
“find at least twenty in Italy or France. On the other
“hand, atheism and superstition, though they fly from
“one another, yet move in a circle, and may meet on the
“side opposite to that from which they set out; and in
“fact, atheism has been frequently observed to end in absolute superstition.” No person, who is acquainted with human nature, through an attentive study of its history, would be surprized to hear of Paine, the hireling and un-

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* Dr. Erskine.

blushing apostle of anarchy and infidelity, flying to the pretended vicar of Jesus Christ, and clinging to the mummeries of superstition, the last miserable refuge of a corrupt heart, distracted by a consciousness of enormous guilt, and the fear of judgment and an eternal state of retribution.

I need scarcely remark, that the exhibition of the spirit and principles of Popery, under the disguise of a Protestant profession, is not less favourable to the growth of infidelity, than if the name accompanied the thing. Nay, I may venture to affirm, that the friar's frock peeping from beneath the Protestant gown, does more mischief to the cause of revealed religion, than the full and open display of all the tinsel pomp of the scarlet whore.* It was from such phenomena that free-thinkers inferred, long ago, that "Priests of all religions are the same," and all pursue one grand object, the exaltation of their own order, whatever becomes of the success of the religion, which they profess to believe, and pretend to teach. Think, then, I entreat you, of the possible consequences of the exhibition, at the present day, by a Protestant divine, of the spirit which your *Vindication* breathes, and of the principles it inculcates. Suppose, that some of your readers, who have not studied our religion in the scriptures (and you know, the study of it there is what you discourage) shall be satisfied with your account of it. Suppose farther that, some time or other, they should revolve that account in their mind, and that the following very natural queries should occur to them: "Did God, the Father of all mankind, send his Son into the world, that he might suffer and die, to save those only,

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" who

* Is it not remarkable, that so early as the *pontificate of Damasus*, (a little after the middle of the fourth century,) Jerom calls Rome "the scarlet whore?"

“ who submit to Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons? Can
 “ that be *his* method of salvation, which stamps the highest
 “ possible importance on the rank and degrees of the men,
 “ that come after the fishermen of Galilee, who were all
 “ on an entire equality; and which subjects the reason and
 “ conscience of his rational creatures to the dominion of a
 “ few, selected from among themselves, and set apart to
 “ their office by certain ceremonies and forms, and dressed
 “ in a certain manner? Does christianity leave all, however
 “ sincere in their belief of its tenets, and however consci-
 “ entious in the discharge of its duties, to perish everlast-
 “ ingly, who are not under the government of Bishops in
 “ an Episcopal Church? Did Bishop Skinner’s consecration
 “ confer on him, both ability, and the right which he claims
 “ in the introduction to his book, to dictate to all man-
 “ kind? Is it no indication of illiberality and uncharitableness
 “ in *Him* to tell me, that if I follow not with *his* church,
 “ I cannot be saved? Does christianity authorize such hor-
 “ rid declarations,—which are equally arrogant and inhu-
 “ man? Must I perish if there be any breach in the apos-
 “ tolical succession from the College of Apostles, of my Bi-
 “ shop or my parish Priest; if there be the least flaw in the
 “ canonical derivation of their orders for nearly eighteen
 “ centuries? Does Christ make my salvation dependent on
 “ a condition, of which he has given me no warning, either
 “ explicitly, or by fair and undoubted implication? a con-
 “ dition of salvation which it is impossible for me to know
 “ whether I have performed or not: for what man on
 “ earth can certainly know, whether the canons, which
 “ have been violated, times without number, have been
 “ strictly observed in the particular Episcopal succession, in
 “ which *his* salvation is concerned? Can that system be of
 “ God, which makes a man’s salvation to depend on what
 “ is merely accidental in regard to him,—what is not per-
 “ sonal

“sonal, nay, what he cannot possibly investigate with any degree of certainty?”

If such queries, which are not unlikely to occur to a reader, who understands your *Vindication*, should not send him to the New Testament, and lead him to search the scriptures with diligence and perseverance, they may, very probably, if he be of a disposition to give himself any trouble about the matter, send him to one of those excellent nurseries of science both political and religious, which are known by the name of *Disputing Clubs*, where all his doubts will be cleared up, and his scruples removed *at a few sittings*.

If, again, a serious person, that “he may be able to know and do every thing necessary for salvation,” should contrary to your advice, have recourse to the scriptures, “and peruse them at his leisure, and interpret as he thinks fit;” here the doctrine of your book meets him, and throws him into perplexity; for it brings in question the credibility of the scriptures. *They* profess to be a *full and clear* revelation of the will of God for man’s salvation. Yet we in vain turn over the leaves of the sacred volume, in search of the leading doctrines of your *Vindication*, the practical belief of which, you contend, is as essential to salvation, as the practical belief of any of the doctrines which are clearly and fully revealed. We do not learn in them, that “the Son of God founded a society,” of a particular model, “for the salvation of mankind:” and, indeed, some of your own party contend, on scriptural grounds, that He formed no society at all, the church being founded on his resurrection, and consequently after he departed from our world. Holy writ by no means teaches, that if we be not subject to a hierarchy, supplied with sacred officers, who derive their commission in a right line from the apostles,

bles, we shall as certainly perish, as those antediluvians perished, who were not in the ark of Noah at the deluge.—It does not prescribe a hierarchy in the church of Christ, nor any other specific plan of ecclesiastical government.—Nay, it does not so much as tell us, “in express and positive terms,” what that government was, which the apostles themselves instituted for the benefit of their own immediate converts. And as it does not speak of proper Episcopacy, it cannot well be supposed, that it inculcates the necessity of what you call the Episcopal succession. This you confess; and you endeavour, with the assistance of the Anti-jacobin Reviewer of *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*, to account for it; with what success let the reader judge.

I am amazed that, while you were collecting from every accessible quarter, the materials, with which you endeavour to prop up your scheme of Priestly domination, and compelling scripture itself, by far fetched and violent inference, to put its sacred hand to the work, while you acknowledge (and who will dare to deny?) that the Spirit nowhere directly and explicitly, reveals any thing upon the subject of ecclesiastical government; I am amazed that it never once occurred to you, that you were doing all in your power to undermine the credibility of revelation!—A hierarchy in the christian church, all whose officers derive their orders from the apostles, through an unbroken Episcopal succession, either is necessary to the salvation of christians, or it is not. If it be not necessary, we need not give ourselves the trouble, unless for the gratification of curiosity, of enquiring, when, by whom, or in what manner, a christian hierarchy was set up. But if it be necessary to the salvation of christians, which you labour to prove, and repeatedly boast that you have proved, treating the judgment of those, who differ from you, with disdain, and their moral
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and religious character with abuse; I ask you, why the apostles did not reveal this essential condition of salvation? Had they received it from their master, or had they not received it? If they had not, I ask you, Why? Answer this question so, as to save the credibility of our religion, if you can! But if the apostles had been taught by their master all that you can call Primitive Truth and Order, what has become of *that part* of the sacred and invaluable treasure which was committed to them? It is nowhere mentioned in their writings. Had they lost it? Did they wilfully suppress it? Did they treacherously carry it with them, out of the world, and expire, amidst all that could render death terrible to human nature, with the guilt upon their conscience of concealing what the salvation of mankind was concerned in their clearly unfolding! Or did they reveal it darkly and obscurely, so that the learned only could attain to the knowledge of it, and communicate it to the unlearned, that ignorance might be kept in a due dependence on knowledge and profound literature? This, I maintain, would not have been a revelation at all, but only a method of subjecting the majority of mankind to the spiritual tyranny of a few. If the apostles were capable of thus trifling with the everlasting interests of human nature, what shall we think of them? What shall we think of the message they pretend to deliver to us in the name of Christ?

The memory of Doctor Campbell, the most uncandid treatment of which cannot affect him; and the character of Presbytery and Presbyterians, which you cannot hurt where we value character, are here, comparatively beneath notice. The welfare of millions in time, and their education for eternity, are, in some sense, involved in our contest with the advocates of Scotch Episcopacy. Who but must feel indignation rise in his breast, when he beholds
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those incomprehensibly grand objects trifled with, and the credibility of the gospel, "the best gift of heaven to men," brought in question, in such an age as this! for the honour of a discontented faction, which has been displeased, for more than a century, with the appointment of eternal Providence in the disposal of its lot? What should engage any of *us* in the contests of such a faction, but regard to the credit of revealed religion, and to the best interests of mankind? You stand not in our way. You interfere not with our interest. You rival us in nothing. In proportion as the minds of men advance in the knowledge and love of the genuine unsophisticated religion of the New Testament, your numbers will be diminished, till Scotch Episcopacy itself, as well as *Nonjurors*, shall become "an obsolete term," and all your high pretensions, "a tale of other times."—ADIEU.

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ON

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

(A) Page 28.

IT is said that, whereas the Bishops in England had formerly too much power, they now have almost none, but what they were lately vested with by the residence bill. The prevailing notion, that parochial livings are strictly and literally so many freeholds, has exempted the clergy almost totally from any subjection to their ecclesiastical superiors; and the temporal courts stop almost every prosecution in the spiritual, if the accused or guilty clergyman has money enough to apply for a prohibition. Among *us*, on the other hand, no temporal court can interfere with the spiritual in the exercise of discipline, particularly in the prosecution of an accused or guilty clergyman.

(B) Page 43.

COMPARE our Lord's account of the Samaritan church, John iv. 22. (which by no means implies what modern

modern bigots would call a *true church*) with his acceptance of the humble thankfulness and faith of the Samaritan Leper, Luke viii. 17. 18. 19. and his declared approbation of the enlarged and feeling charity of another person of the same nation and religion; by which he conveyed the most severe reprehension of two ecclesiastics of the *true church*.— See Luke x. 29—37.

(C) Page 45.

LET me recommend to our modern advocates of the “sacred hierarchy,” the perusal of the printed sermon of a celebrated German Orator, of which Dr. Erskine, in his *Hints and Sketches of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. I. p. 218. has favoured us with an extract. The subject of the sermon is the Dignity and the Privileges of the Priesthood; the principles of the preacher much the same with those maintained in *Primitive Truth and Order Vindicated*. “The Priesthood,” says the Orator—(and observe, that according to *him*, as well as the Scotch Episcopalians, there can be no *Priesthood* where the Episcopal succession has been interrupted, and where no sacrifices are offered;) “the Priesthood conveys a power and authority over the person and adorable humanity of the Saviour himself.—“ Though Priests are only his *viceroys*, yet every day he subjects himself to them, and pays them the strictest obedience. At *their command*, he descends from heaven, and, in their hands, repeats, a thousand times over, what was done in the womb of the Virgin.—“ Divine faith! didst thou not aid me, I could not comprehend this. It is, indeed, beyond comprehension, whether

whether you have faith in it or not. “The clergy’s jurisdiction,” adds the Orator, “is incomprehensible, 1. in its extent; no office, however great, no prince, however illustrious, being exempt from it: 2. in its objects; who are the parties, between whom they interpose as arbiters? The offended God, and sinful man. The Lord of hosts leaves his rights and prerogatives in the hands of the Priests, and appoints them his commissioners to conclude a peace between him and sinners. He is ready to submit to their decisions, and to renounce the claims of his justice, as soon as they have absolved the guilty.” Behold the pretensions of High Church, both abroad and at home, stripped of all disguise and covering!

(D) Page 52.

I MEAN not to express the least disrespect for the rite of confirmation. There is not, it is true, the slightest trace of the practice in the New Testament. Yet, it is at least harmless; and we may say of it, what cannot be said with truth, of many rites of merely human invention, that it is a ceremony that does not seem to have been abused, nor indeed to be very liable to abuse. Nay, some plausible reasons may be urged for the propriety of some solemnity between the baptism of infants, and the time they are fit to partake in the eucharist. I cannot, however, divine one plausible reason for confining the celebration to Bishops, which, in certain circumstances, is productive of inconvenience, but is not, in *any* circumstances, so far, as I know, indispensably necessary.

(E) Page 53.

THE expression, inclosed in-inverted commas, is to be found, Vind. p. 141; and, if it mean any thing, it implies, that we are indebted for our salvation, not to the labours and sufferings of the Son of God, but to the *society* which he founded; in other words, that Christ came into this world to save sinners, by subjecting them to the spiritual government of a certain number of their fellow-sinners, whom he appointed to be ordained Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. How can the Critics say, that “we in vain look for bold originality of thought in Skinner’s Vindication?”



(F) Page 54.

THIS *mystery* was not first discovered by any Doctor in the Church of Rome, although that church has turned it to *better account* than any other. It was first advanced by Anastasius, a Monk of Sinai, in a little work which he wrote in 640, and called *Ὁμολογία*. Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, took it under his patronage in 714—and John of Damascus, the famous lying defender of image worship, maintained it strenuously in 754; though it was condemned, along with the worship of images, by the Council of Constantinople. From the East this strange doctrine gradually found its way into Saxony; and in 818, was published and defended by Paschasius Radbertus, Monk of Corbi. Like Anastasius, Germanus, and Joannes Damascenus, Radbertus was in some doubt about the *manner* of the real presence in the eucharist. He pronounced it

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one while *μικρῶς*, by which, probably, he meant that the substance of the bread and wine was changed into the substance of the body and blood of Christ, by the “*Hoc est corpus meum*” of the consecrating Priest. Another while he called it *συνεστία*, or a certain commixture of the nature of the eucharistic elements with that of our Lord’s body, which Werenfelsius calls either “*Dei impanatio*,” or “*Πάνις ἀποθεώσις*.” And sometimes he expressed the change produced at consecration by the term *διεστία*, which I cannot say that I distinctly comprehend, unless it mean that, the substance of the bread and wine, and the substance of the body and blood of Christ, are both present in the eucharist at the same time.

The doctrine of Paschasius was vigorously opposed by almost all the learned men of the ninth century, particularly by our countryman John Scotus. But it was a doctrine of great importance to the Priesthood, for, as it has been expressed, it vested them with the extraordinary *power of making the God who made them*. Several of the clergy, therefore, held it fast; and, aided by the ignorance and barbarism of the tenth century, propagated it with no little success. About the middle of the eleventh century, Berengarius of Tours, who opposed it with firmness, was pronounced to be “a fetter forth of new and strange doctrines, unknown in the church from the times of the apostles,” and was condemned by several Councils and Popes. Thus the doctrine of Paschasius became, in the end, the public and authorized doctrine of the church, which *all* must believe, whether they *could* believe it or not, under the most dreadful pains and penalties. In the twelfth century it was openly and generally taught as the faith of all true christians in all preceeding ages, and assumed the name of *transubstantiation*, which it bears at this day. Scarcely was this name

heard, says a learned writer, when the adoration of the host ensued. But it were endless to enumerate *all* the idolatrous and superstitious fopperies, which the folly or fraud of ignorant or designing ecclesiastics invented, for the purpose of making the sacrifice of the mass the more awful and impressive in the eyes of the vulgar. The reader, however, may be amused with a specimen of the prayers, that were appointed to be said or sung at the elevation of the host :

“ Ave Caro Christi cara,
 “ Immolata Crucis ara,
 “ Pro redemptis hostia ;
 “ Morte tua nos amara,
 “ Fac redemptos, luce clara
 “ Tecum frui gloria.”

“ Salve lux mundi, Verbum Patris, hostia vera,
 “ Viva Caro, Deitas integra, verus homo.”

See Werenfelsii Opusc.

(G) Page 63.

JESUS CHRIST made *all* the disciples Priests, in one sense of that term, by opening to them all equally, access to the throne of grace through his mediation—a throne to which, as an apostle speaks, “they may come *boldly.*” Hence a christian layman is as much a High Priest as his Bishop. Accordingly John, Rev. i. 6. says, that Jesus has made us all “Priests unto our God.” It is worthy of notice, that the christian pastors were first called *Priests* (*ιερευς* and *sacerdotes*) not by christians themselves, but by the heathen, who saw them officiating in holy things in the christian assemblies. “Τον των βαρβαρων εχων ιερεα,” says Malchius in Byzanticis, “ον οι χριστιανοι καλεσι πρεσβυτερον.” See Suicer.

(H)

(H) Page 63.

READ Heb. viii. 6—13. and you will see, that at least *one* Jewish convert considered christianity to be something more than Judaism stripped of its types and shadows, and that the same convert seems to have thought, that Jeremiah, or rather his Inspirer, was of the same mind.

(I) Page 74.

I BEG leave to mention it as my conjecture, that “the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery,” 1 Tim. iv. 14, and “the putting on of Paul’s hands,” 2 Tim. i. 6. were two distinct transactions. By the *former*, I consider Timothy to have been ordained, or separated, by fasting and prayer, and the imposition of hands, to the work of the ministry; and by the *latter* to have received the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, which were conferred by the laying on of the hands of the apostles. This conjecture appears to me to derive some plausibility from the admonitions that accompany the two intimations of the imposition of hands on Timothy, in the two Epistles to that Evangelist. In the first passage, referred to above, Timothy is exhorted not to *neglect* the gift that was in him by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery; that is, I apprehend, to be faithful and diligent in doing the work of an evangelist. In the second passage, Timothy is admonished to *stir up* the gift that was in him, by the putting on of Paul’s hands. Is it not reasonable to think that *μη αμελει τς εν σοι χαρισματος* and *αναμιμνησκω σε αναζωπυρειν το χαρισμα τς Θες*, refer to different duties? Can we suppose, that the *χαρισμα* in the first passage,

which the evangelist is exhorted *not to neglect*, and the *χαρισμα τῶ Θεῷ* in the last, which he is reminded to *stir up*, as one stirs up a fire, which begins to decay (for that is the import of *αναζωπυρειν*) are the very same gift? How, in that case, could we account for their not being both equally called either *το χαρισμα*, or *το χαρισμα τῶ Θεῷ*? If you understand the *χαρισμα τῶ Θεῷ* to mean supernatural powers, we easily comprehend the admonition, “*Stir up* the gift that is “in thee,” that is, “keep alive the gift that is in thee, by “exercising it, and not suffering it to lie dormant, and “useless to mankind.” If the *χαρισμα* given by prophecy with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery, was only, as Bishop Skinner contends, *authority* to minister in the gospel, *αναζωπυρειω*, could not, I should think, be used to express Timothy’s duty with regard to it. Add to these considerations that in 1 Tim. iv. 14. it is said to have been *δια προφητειας* that the gift which was in Timothy was conveyed; and in 2 Tim. i. 6. that it was *δια της επιθεσεως των χειρων μου*. Is it conceivable that “prophecy” and “the laying on of the apostles’ hands,” were the very same instrumental cause? I cannot think it.—Upon the whole, there is not the shadow of a reason for assuming that either Paul, or any other of the apostles were present at the ordination of Timothy, which appears to have been performed by the Presbyters of a particular church; in what place we are not informed.

(J) Page 75.

SINCE I wrote the passage in the text, here referred to, it has occurred to me as highly probable, that
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when a successor to Judas was appointed, there was in fact no election at all by either the eleven, or the hundred and twenty,—Barfabas and Matthias having, it is very likely, been the only persons present besides the eleven, who had *all* the qualifications for the apostleship, which are described Acts i. 21, 22.



(K) Page 83.

SUPPOSE the apostles to have in reality appointed James to the Episcopate at Jerusalem, and made him their own ecclesiastical superior: Would this exaltation, *of itself*, have qualified him to decide all the controversies, that might arise in the christian church? Or would it have conferred a divine right to decide every controversy, whether he understood it or not? Does the act of consecration enlighten the mind of an ecclesiastic so wonderfully, as to qualify the Presbyter of yesterday, now raised to the Episcopate, to instruct and guide all the Presbyters of to-day? Perhaps it is only *authority* to decide all controversies among the inferior clergy, that it conveys: and, if this be the case, it puts one very much in mind of the Poet's "divine right of kings to govern wrong."



(L) Page 83.

SOME expositors, I know, insist, that "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us," implies only, "From the acts and dictates of the Holy Ghost we are au-
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“thorized to conclude.” To this exposition, I could, if this were the proper place for such a discussion, urge several strong objections. But whether this, or the more obvious explanation of the passage, be the juster, still “It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us,” opposes the doctrine of High Church, that “James’ decisive sentence put an end to the controversy;”—for Peter, and Paul, and Barnabas had drawn the same conclusion from the facts, and miracles to which they appealed, that James, after they sat down, drew from ancient prophecy.

(M) Page 84.

THE passage formerly referred to, in which Ignatius puts the Bishop in the place of God, Presbyters in the place of the apostles, and Deacons in that of Jesus Christ, does imply that the author, whoever he was, considered Presbyters and Deacons to be subject to Bishops; for all beings in the universe are subject to God. But I scarcely think that the ideas of dominion and subjection were at all in the writer’s mind at the time he wrote the passage under consideration, for this reason, that he places Jesus Christ under his own apostles, by making Deacons his *locum tenentes*. And indeed I recollect no passage in the Ignatian Epistles, wherein the doctrine of the subjection of Presbyters and Deacons to their Bishops is explicitly inculcated. In the Epistle to the Ephesians, cap. iv. he says, that “the Presbytery is fitted to the Bishop as strings to the harp,” (a favourite figure with the author) but this, by no means, implies subjection. In the Epistle to the Antiochians, towards the end, he exhorts the Presbyters to feed the

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the flock which was among them, till God should declare who was to be their ruler after him. But this implies only a mere presidency on the part of the Bishop; for the admonition supposes, that the Presbyters were competent to every office of the christian ministry. It is the very same admonition that Paul gave to the Bishops of Ephesus, when he took leave of them at Miletus.



(N) Page 86.

IS it not surprizing that High Church in Scotland, who trembles for the soul of the man, that presumes to act as a Bishop, without a commission signed and sealed by two or more Bishops, still revives the misrepresentation, so long ago refuted by one of her own sons, that the apostles *acted* on their apostolic commission, which is recorded Matthew xxviii. 19. 20, long before it was issued? The mission which they received, during the life of our Lord, was only to the cities and villages of Judea, in which they were not, surely, commanded to “make disciples of all “*nations*, baptizing them, &c.” but to preach repentance to their countrymen *only*, proclaiming that the kingdom of heaven was *at hand*. When they received their commission to preach the gospel to all nations, the kingdom of heaven *was come*, and their office was to invite all mankind to submit to it—unfolding to them its laws, its privileges, its rewards, and its punishments. The time of their Lord’s ministry was the season of their education for their high office. They were then employed in learning what they were to teach after his resurrection, and after they should receive the Holy Ghost. And, in fact, it was not till after his

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his resurrection that he gave them their commission to teach all nations, and sent to them, that which alone could enable them to execute their commission, the supernatural gifts of the Spirit. Can any thing, then, be more absurd, than to speak of them as Presbyters in the christian church under Christ their Bishop, before that church was founded, and before their commission as office-bearers in it was given them?

(O) Page 90.

THE *Vindicator* (p. 127) asserts with confidence, that "in every Council or Synod, mention is made of the Deacons, their powers are confirmed, and their duties explained, as being the persons alluded to, whom the apostle says, God had set in the church, as thirdly teachers." Did any Council or Synod know better than the author of the book of Acts, *who* it was that set Deacons in the church, and for what purpose they were set there? Does Luke inform us, that God set Deacons in the church? No—but that they were first elected by the whole multitude, in consequence of the apostles suggesting the propriety and expediency of instituting such an order at the time. Does Luke declare the original purpose of the Diaconate, or does he not? If he declares it,—what is it? Is it *teaching*? Can any thing exceed the absurdity, I may say the effrontery of endeavouring to establish the *divine* institution of an ecclesiastical office, on the *human* authority of Councils and Synods after the death of the last of the apostles,—and that in manifest opposition to the report of scripture?

(P)

[P] Page 90.

IN his Epistles to Timothy and Titus, the apostle describes the qualifications and duties of two orders only of ecclesiastics, to wit, Bishops or Elders, and Deacons. How can this be accounted for, if there were three orders in the apostolic church? Are the duties and qualifications of a Bishop and of an Elder, the very same? One should think the apostle had been of that mind, since he describes the duties and qualifications of a Bishop only. Then it necessarily follows, that, in the apostle's mind (and I would not advise the stoutest champion of High Church to disagree with him) the office of both is the same. In vain you ask, "Were the apostles themselves no order in the church?" This by no means removes the objection to High Church's scheme, (the objection) arising from the fact, that, in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, the duties of Elders and Deacons only, and their qualifications, are delineated.—For why should not the duties and qualifications of *apostles* have been described, if the apostolate was intended to be a standing office in the church? Is it of no consequence whether the supreme governors of the church be well or ill qualified for their office—or whether they do their duty or not?—I cannot believe the *Vindicator* to be in earnest (Vind. p. 186.) in his deep criticism on ὁ ἐπίσκοπος in Tit. i. 7. which he translates not *a* Bishop, but *the* Bishop; for it makes nonsense of the context, and is indeed so like the paltry conceit of a Jesuitical commentator, that it would dishonour *the* Bishop, who, without all question, "must be *blameless*." Finally, if Paul, by the Elders, whose qualifications he describes Tit. i. 5—9. meant the intermediate order of Presbyters in an Episcopal church, how comes it that he does not warn them of the damnable error of presuming to ordain? an error, which interrupts the stream
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of Episcopal succession, and, hence, is pregnant with mischiefs that cannot be suitably described in the language of earth?

(Q) Page 90.

BOTH High Church and bigotted Presbyterians are puzzled with this fact, as it is related Acts viii. In explaining it, the Episcopal adversaries of lay-preaching make a curious distinction. They admit, that the “*παντες*” “who were scattered abroad, and preached the word every “where,” were only private disciples or lay-christians; but they insist, that those private christians did not, like Philip, preach the word *authoritatively*. In proof of this they urge, that in v. 4. it is said of the *παντες*, *δηλον ευαγγελιζομενοι τον λογον*; whereas in v. 5. we are told, that Philip *εκηρυσσεν τον χριστον*. If this profound criticism be just, the Haldenites have only to send out their lay-preachers as *evangelists*, to declare the “good news” to those who never heard them before, or who have heard them only in part from men who handle the word of God deceitfully; and the Anti-jacobin dares not, *on his own principles*, reprehend them.—Some bigotted Presbyterian controvertists, who, in so far as the exclusive authority of the clergy to propagate the gospel is concerned, make common cause with High Church, contend that the *παντες*, who went every where preaching the word, were the *Elders of Jerusalem*. This “out-herods Herod.”—In regard to the Anti-jacobin’s distinction between the verbs *ευαγγελιζομαι* and *κηρυσσω* in Acts viii. the latter of which, he says, is used to express *Philip’s* preaching, while the former is the expression for the preaching of the

the *brethren*, I beg leave to direct him to the 35th v. of the same chapter, where he will find it said of Philip, *ευαγγελισατο αυτω τον Ιησυν*. *Ευαγγελιζομαι* is the word commonly used for the first intimation of the good news. *Κηρυσσω* signifies to proclaim any thing, whether it can be called news or not.

Do I plead the cause of lay-preaching? If to represent things as I find them in scripture, be to plead the cause of lay-preaching in modern times, I must confess myself to be guilty; and what is worse, I cannot prevail upon myself to repent. But, I hope, it will be recollected, that there is some difference between the *qualifications* of modern lay-preachers, and those of the *brethren* before the conversion of Paul, who went every where *ευαγγελιζομενοι τον λογον*. But if lay-preachers be *qualified* to preach, and if they preach Christ as he is preached in the New Testament; what does it become a *christian* to say? and how will a *christian* feel? "I therein *do rejoice*, yea, and *will rejoice*." Philip. i. 18.

(R) Page 93.

IS it not a strange answer to a train of reasoning, supported by an induction of facts, to say, "Sir, you have borrowed all this?" Does our Vindicator, or the Archdeacon, from whom he *copies* the heavy charge of plagiarism, dare to deny, that the *Lecturer* had access to the best sources of information concerning the *constitution of the primitive church*, as well as Lord King, and that he could consult ancient records with understanding. If they do not,—what candid inference can they deduce from his coincidence with

with Lord King, but only that both drew from the same sources, and understood the writings of antiquity, to which they appealed, in the same sense? Does this militate against the scheme, which they both support? The very reverse. If, like the writers of High Church, they had both espoused the same cause, and yet differed in their interpretation of those passages of scripture, and of the writings of the Fathers, to which they appeal in support of it; this, indeed, would have created a strong presumption, that their system has no foundation in truth.

** Page 95.

THE primitive christians had no altar properly so called. It was *metaphorically* that they denominated the communion table "the Altar." Their heathen neighbours and adversaries were wont to reproach them with their having no altar. Christians acknowledged the fact, and they accounted for it by urging an excuse, that is no proof of the antiquity of what both Roman Catholics and some Scotch Episcopalians call *their unbloody sacrifice*, that they had *no proper sacrifice* to offer; for that their "only oblations were prayers and thanksgivings, out of a pure conscience, those sacrifices, with which, says the apostle to the Hebrews, "chap. xiii. 15. 16. God is well pleased." See Origin adv. Cels.—Arnob. Af. adv. Gentes,—Lactant. et mult. al.—The church was three centuries old, and somewhat more, before she discovered that she had a sacrifice to offer, that requires its *correlate*, an altar! Yet the eucharistic service of the Scotch Episcopal Church, in the opinion of its Primate, and of a Divine of the Church of England, keeps closer to the

the original pattern of the *primitive* church than the eucharistic service of the Church of England now does! What do those learned Divines call the *primitive* church? The Church, I suppose, of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries.

(S) Page 99.

IF the *Vindicator* mean an *equivoque* on the word *send*, which he has distinguished from the other words of the sentence by an Italic dress, I am sorry to be obliged to remark that, in this instance at least, he is more witty than wise. All the clergy, in a modern diocese, in England for example, are not of the Bishop's *sending*, in any sense in which the word can be understood; neither can he, like Columbanus, or like a Scotch Highland Minister, *recall* those "ordained assistants" of his, when he pleases; much less can he dismiss them altogether. Would any body consider you to be in your right mind, if you were to describe Dr. Barrington as the ordained pastor of the parish of Durham, "who has power to send out, to the distant parts of "his parish, ordained assistants to supply his place, as occasion requires, and to recall them at his pleasure?"

(T) Page 101.

THIS, unless the author felt himself to be under a necessity of copying a certain quantity, in order to fill the intended number of pages, does not appear to be much more

more judicious, than the conduct of a gentleman, who wrote to an *accoucheur*, requesting him to come and deliver his wife, who was in severe labour; and being informed, before the letter was sealed, that the lady was safely brought to bed, told the Doctor, in a postscript, that his attendance was unnecessary; and then dispatched the letter to him in great haste.

(U) Page 102.

THIS expression is evidently elliptical. The first question, then, that occurs in endeavouring to ascertain its signification is, What is the neuter substantive that is understood? Bishop Skinner (See Vindic. p. 254, 255, 256.) never seems to have once thought of this enquiry. He admits that, in Acts ii. 1. *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ* ought to be rendered "in one place;" and so it is rendered by the Vulgate, Zurich Translation, Erasmus, Beza, Castalio, Anon. Italian 1545, Diodati, and Luther. I apprehend that the Vindicator will admit the propriety of rendering the same expression, by the same English words, in Acts i. 15. Luke xvii. 35. and 1 Cor. xi. 20. Dr. Hammond interprets it in Acts i. 15. "assembled for the service of God." Interpret it thus in 1 Cor. vii. 5, and observe how it will suit the context. Nobody, I suppose, will dispute, that *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ* in the Septuagint translation of Deuteron. xxii. 10. means, "in one place," or "together." Now what is the substantive understood in all the passages now referred to? I presume to assert with confidence, that it can be no other but *χωρίον*, and I have no fear of being contradicted by any "*masterly Critic*," unless, indeed, it be the Anti-jacobin

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Reviewer of *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*, who is so very profound a Critic, that he disputes Dr. Campbell's knowledge of the Greek language, because he does not translate *δικαιοσυνη* "alms-giving;" and who puts the following sage admonition in the mouth of our Saviour, "First cast out the double vision out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye." Du Bos, in his *Ellipses Græcæ*, supplies *χωριον* in Acts ii. 1.—so does Hesychius, who explains *επι το αυτο* by *επι τον αυτον τοπον*. To these I may add the authority of Stephani Thesaur. in Voc. *αυτος*—which see.—If *χωριον* be the word that is understood in all the passages referred to above, what right has the Vindicator to contend that the same word is understood in every passage, wherein *επι το αυτο* occurs—every passage without exception? Can you assert of any *Ellipsis Græca*, that it requires one word to be supplied in some passages, and another word in other passages? If you can, a Greek elliptical expression may, very easily, be made to support any doctrine or system, that needs its aid.

Some Critic or other, I think it is Grotius, renders *επι το αυτο* in Acts iii. 1. "sub idem tempus." But how does *επι το αυτο* agree with *καιρον*, or *χρονον*, or *ωρον*?

The precise meaning of *επι το αυτο* (*supple χωριον*) in any given passage is to be ascertained from the connexion in which it stands; an observation that is applicable to several words and phrases in all languages. In different connexions it may signify, "in the same room; in the same house; in the same street; in the same city; in the same region or country:" or, when it is used in speaking of persons, who are in habits of intimate friendship, it may mean, that "they have very frequent intercourse with one another." Bæza's opinion respecting the meaning of *επι το*

αυτο, in Acts ii. 44. as quoted by the *Vindicator*, is just the opinion of *Beza*; and that is all. No body supposes that all the disciples, after 3000 were added to their number on the day of Pentecost, were crowded into one room, or into one house. But that they had daily intercourse with one another, "speaking often," as Malachi expresses it, "one to another," we have every reason from their history to infer, especially as they all lived on a common stock, and were all alike the objects of public hatred and persecution; to say nothing of their frequent meetings, in different assemblies, for the purposes of christian worship.

In Acts iii. 1. it is said, that "Peter and John went up *επι το αυτο* to the temple at the hour of prayer; being the "ninth hour." The *Vindicator* has not fallen into the absurdity of rendering with Grotius, *επι το αυτο* "about the "same time," which makes the sacred historian tell the same thing twice in one short sentence. But by his interpretation he equally perverts the meaning of Luke: for he translates *επι το αυτο* for "the same purpose." It is evident from v. 3. that the historian meant to inform his readers, that Peter and John went up into the temple in company, or "together," as our translators render it; for he says, that the lame man saw the two apostles about to enter the temple, and addressed them both for alms at the same time. Luke is not a historian of *many words*; and it is not to be supposed, that he meant to inform his readers of the "purpose" for which two of Christ's apostles went into the temple at the hour of prayer. Hence it is apparent that, in Acts iii. 1. *επι το αυτο* means "together," or, if I may so speak, side by side.

I cannot think the Lecturer's opponents more happy in their interpretation of *επι το αυτο* in Acts iv. 26. 27. Bishop
 Skinner

Skinner says that, when the apostle Peter exclaims, *For of a truth against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, and the Gentiles, and the people of Israel συνηχθησαν επι το αυτο, for to do whatever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done,*—it would be absurd to suppose, that they all actually assembled in one place, but that they conspired together for the same purpose, the words (*επι το αυτο*) plainly pointing to the *object*, not to the *place* of their combination." To have convinced his readers that this is perfectly plain, our learned Vindicator should have first produced to them the Greek word that is left out, and next have shewn that the purpose of the combination is not unfolded by Luke without the help of *επι το αυτο*. But I suspect he could do neither. Neither *βελην*, nor *σπεδην*, nor *θυμον*, nor any word signifying "purpose" that I have met with, can be made to agree with *επι το αυτο*. And for the declaration of the *purpose* of the conspiracy, Luke has not left it to *επι το αυτο*,—but has told us distinctly that Jews and Gentiles combined against "thy holy child Jesus, for to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done," which is a sufficiently clear and precise enunciation of the object of the conspiracy. And was it not in *Jerusalem*, and therefore *επι το αυτο χωριον*, that the conspiracy was formed, and its atrocious object accomplished? Nay, were not all the conspirators, excepting Herod, convened at our Lord's condemnation?—May I not remark also, that *συνηχθησαν* (*congregabantur*) which our translators have very properly rendered "gathered together," refers, wherever it occurs to the *place*, not to the *purpose*, of the convention? The very same expression, *συνηχθησαν επι το αυτο* occurs in Matth. xxii. 34. where it evidently means that there was a concourse, or flocking together. As *συναγω* refers to place, its connection with *επι το αυτο* in Acts iv. 26. and Matth. xxii. 34.

fixes the meaning of *ἐπι το αυτο*, and shews, that the substantive understood is unquestionably *χωριον*.

I shall only observe farther, that in the passage of Justin Martyr, to which the *Lecturer* refers on the subject of primitive Parochial Episcopacy, the object of the meetings of christian congregations on the Lord's day, is distinctly placed before the reader independently of *ἐπι το αυτο*; for Justin particularly describes the religious duties, for the performance of which, the christians met together in the same place. Thus our *Lecturer's* opponents, it is evident, have not produced *one single* passage, which, if candidly interpreted, militates against his interpretation of Justin's and Ignatius' *ἐπι το αυτο*: and, as we have seen, Cyprian's declaration, that at a time when christians were greatly more numerous than in Ignatius' and Justin's days, he celebrated the eucharist, *all his flock being present*, establishes it beyond contradiction or doubt.



(V) Page 107.

THE Anti-jacobin obligingly recommends to Dr. Campbell's biographer a translation into English of the apostolical canons, which he assures him, is quite *faithful!* What a profound Grecian must the Reviewer be—who is able to appreciate the merits of Johnstone's translation of the apostolical canons!

(W)

(W) Page 107.

SEE Acts xx. 31. See also chap. xix. 10. where we are informed, that, in the course of "two years, all "they which dwelt in Asia, heard the word, both Jews and "Greeks." Were *all they who dwelt in Asia*, confined to Ionia, Lydia, Mysia, and Phrygia Major? or were they all subjected to the Episcopal authority of the *seven angels*?

(X) Page 108.

IT is Jerom, I think, who affirms, that John *planted* and governed the churches of Asia. This assertion is not correct. That *Peter* planted churches in Asia, is probable; that Paul planted many churches there, is absolutely certain; for he was long in that country, and he declares, that he never "built upon another man's foundation." Tertullian says, that John *nourished*, that is, instructed and governed, churches somewhere, he means, most probably, those of Asia. But he *does not* say, that John *founded* those churches, though in the *Vindicator's* translation of his words, he is *made* to say so. Does "habemus et Joannis alumnas ecclesias" mean, "we have also churches *founded* by John?" (See *Vind.* p. 206.)—Where did the Bishop meet with the adjective *alumnus* in *this* acceptation? It ordinarily signifies "nourished, maintained, instructed, educated." But where is the classical authority for interpreting it by "founded, created?"

NOTES

ON

PRESBYTERIAN LETTERS.



PART I.

(Y) Page 140.

WHAT sectary may not as reasonably say the same thing of any minister of any establishment under the sun? "You stand on a bog, my Lord," might an English dissenter have said to Bishop Horne. "If you speak out what you believe in your heart concerning the form of the apostolic church, which, you well know, was not Episcopal, you sink, and your titles and revenues, your square cap and temporal peerage, disappear." Would any man of the least sense or candor pronounce this address more arrogant or impertinent, than what you say of the Lecturer? I believe not.

(Z)

(Z) Page 141.

THE Lecturer, instead of wishing to find the constitution and discipline of the primitive church what a bigotted churchman of his own, or any other, communion, would have them to be accounted, enquires into what they really were; and he enquires with such modesty, that he does not pretend that he could fully ascertain every thing relating to them. Of the discipline you virtually admit that he gives a just account. For do you not acknowledge, p. 145. 146. 147. that Paul and Cyprian, the *former* "for particular reasons," which you conceal, and the *latter* out of pure *humility* and *condescension*, did, in fact, delegate to the people that censorial power, which modern Bishops withhold from them? It is not true, that the *Lecturer* pretends "to support and recommend" *primitive* order and discipline. They stand in no need of support and recommendation from him or from you; of which he was not senseless and presumptuous enough not to be aware. He only informs his pupils what they appear to him to have been. What would you or the Anti-jacobin have done in a like case? Compelled the primitive order and discipline to correspond exactly with those of your own church? or, if that could not be done, quitted your church altogether?—If Dr. Campbell had wilfully misrepresented primitive order and discipline in compliment to his own church, he would have well deserved all the malignant censure, with which his posthumous adversaries have endeavoured, though vainly, to load his memory. And should he have left the church, in which he was baptized and educated, because he was not such a senseless bigot as to think, that its constitution and discipline are perfectly apostolical? Whither could he have gone? Does he not declare it to be his decided opini-

on, that nothing but sectarian bigotry and ignorance would dare to claim a *jus divinum* in favour of *any ecclesiastical polity in existence?* Therefore, to be, what the Anti-jacobin would call a *conscientious* christian, the *Lecturer* should have founded a new sect, of Campbellites! But this, again, would have aggravated your "heavy calamity, the endless diversity of sects and opinions."

High Church can make large demands on the consciences of Presbyterians, without ever once *drawing* on an Episcopal conscience. All that the late Dr. Horne had to do in order to be of the church, which the great apostle of the Gentiles would join, if he were coming to earth again, was only to quit his Episcopal palace, and give up the revenue of his see, and cross the Tweed with Mr. Jones at his side, and present himself to the Bishop of Edinburgh, or of Aberdeen, and say, "Here am I, and my friend Jones, where St. Paul would be, if he were upon earth, and it were left to his choice with what denomination of christians he would communicate."—But Dr. Horne did not do this, although it was entirely in his power. He very *wisely* contented himself with commending the Scotch Episcopal Church, and calling her Bishops better Bishops than himself; and he staid in England, where, he was sure, St. Paul would not have staid, and died in possession of his Episcopal palace, his seat in the House of Peers, and the revenues of his see. What would have been the chief recommendation of the Scotch Episcopal Church to an apostle, I mean, its "poverty, and depressed state," had no charms for "the pious and learned Bishop of Norwich," but merely in speculation! Perhaps it has been his profound learning that enabled him to discover, that he lived *more comfortably* in England, than the Bishops in Scotland live. At any rate, we have never heard that his conscience re-
proached

proached him for preferring an English Bishporic to a Scottish. Mr. Jones, indeed, would not have failed to tell us, if it had. Nay, (and this is more wonderful still) Dr. Horne has escaped all reprehension on the subject, from the Primate of Scotland, and the Anti-jacobin Reviewer of Dr. Campbell's Lectures! This is a striking specimen of the rigid and dignified impartiality of those right reverend and right learned gentlemen.

(A a) Page 141.

KIRK is an abbreviation of *κρητακον*, (or, according to some, of *Κρητα οικος*) and was once the fashionable word in England. But in process of time, it was supplanted by a softer sound, and then it was banished to Scotland, the Siberia of all obsolete English words and phrases, where, in a little time they are naturalized, and become Scotticisms.

(B b) Page 146.

THE charge, quoted in the text, is to be found in the last page of the Anti-jacobin's *altercation* with Dr. Campbell's biographer, which the Anti-jacobin has conducted in a manner, that deprives it of all title to the appellation of a *controversy*. What a furious thing is the *Odium Theologicum*! It is some comfort, however, that, by the latest accounts, the *Odium Medicum* rather exceeds ours in virulence.

(C c) Page 173.

AMIDST all your professions of loyalty, which the Anti-jacobin (probably because they may excite some suspicion of your sincerity) thinks you pour forth in *too* great confusion, I cannot discover the least evidence, but your dislike of the *obsolete* term Nonjurors, of your taking shame to yourself for your former disloyalty. To what shall we impute this? Your former dissatisfaction was innocent, or it was not. If it was not, why do *you* not, like St. Paul, after *his* conversion, confess iniquity? You do not, surely forget what the scriptures say of the man "who concealeth his sins!" But if your former disaffection to the existing government of the country was your duty, why have you put it away from you? The gentleness of His Majesty's government, which has always breathed the liberal and tolerant spirit of the monarch himself, should have induced you to live quietly in all godliness and honesty. But it could not cancel the sacred obligations of duty, nor justify the transference of your allegiance from the person, whom you accounted your rightful sovereign, to another. The descendants of Charles I. were not all extinct in 1788.

A true penitent is not only ready *himself* to confess his sins; but he can hear others confess them for him without getting into a passion. Hence I very much suspect the sincerity of our *quondam* Nonjurors' repentance—they are so liable to irritation, on the slightest mention of their former political principles.

NOTES

ON

PRESBYTERIAN LETTERS.

PART II.

(D d) Page 211.

I AM aware that christianity was planted in Scotland much earlier than the seventh century. But it is enough for my purpose to state, that there was a christian church in Scotland in the time of Oswald, king of the Northumbrians.

(E e) Page 212.

BEDE's words are, " Monachus ipse Episcopus
" Aidanus, utpote de insula quæ vocatur Hy destinatus.
" Cu-

“ Cujus monasterium in cunctis pene septembrionalium
 “ Scotorum et omnium Pictorum monasteriis non parvo
 “ tempore arcem tenebat, regendisque eorum populis prae-
 “ rat.”

(F f) Page 215.

MR. SKINNER (Lett. on Eccles. Hist. of Scotland, v. I. p. 102) instructs us very learnedly. He says, that, by the *majores natu*, to whom Oswald applied for an *Antistes*, Bede did not mean “ the old men with respect to age, who could be of no use to him in what he was wanting; but in Tertullian’s phrase, *seniores qui president*; and indeed,” adds he, “ in current ecclesiastical style, the *venerable men*, who managed and presided in such matters;” that is, I presume, Diocesan Bishops. To this fine theory I have some objections. 1. Oswald sent for an *Antistes*; to whom? To the *Antistites* of Scotland? No, says Bede, but to the *majores natu*. If those *majores natu* were *antistites*, why does not Bede call them so? There must, in his mind, have been some difference between a *major natu* and an *antistes*, otherwise he must be considered to be the most contemptible ecclesiastical historian that ever wrote. The difference, I apprehend, is, that the *majores natu* were Presbyter Monks, and the *Antistites* ministers ordained to the charge of particular parishes, or sent upon particular evangelical missions. 2. It is not true that *majores natu*, or *seniores*, ever meant Bishops in current ecclesiastical style, that is *Diocesan* Bishops. Both the expressions are literal translations of *πρεσβυτεροι*; a term which was never applied to Diocesan Bishops. 3. Mr. Skinner takes it for granted

granted, that by *seniores qui president*, Tertullian unquestionably meant Bishops in an Episcopal church. Those, on the other hand, who do not consider proper Episcopacy to be *primitive order*, consider *seniores* and *πρεσβυτεροι* to mean the same office-bearers (in which, I think, they are justified by the fact, that *seniores* is a literal translation of *πρεσβυτεροι*) and they urge Tertullian's *seniores qui president* as a proof, that proper Episcopacy was not generally established in the end of the second century.



(G g) Page 223.

PAUL's baptism by "a certain disciple named "Ananias," has perplexed *High Church* in all ages. Augustin contends, that Ananias *must have been in orders*, because he baptized Paul. By this mode of reasoning, one may make scripture and antiquity, both of which call Ananias "a certain disciple," speak whatever one pleases. What is "a certain disciple," but a certain private or lay-christian? The apostolical constitutions, in the last two sentences of the last book, call Ananias "a faithful brother," and they say, that neither he, nor Philip, who baptized the Ethiopian eunuch, snatched the sacerdotal functions to themselves, but were appointed by Christ to do what they did: a discovery, which, with the New Testament in our hand, we might, perhaps, have made, without the assistance of the apostolical constitutions. Œcumenius, on Acts ix. supposes Ananias to have been a Deacon, because he is mentioned by the apostolical constitutions as having had the same authority with Philip the Deacon. But might not Œcumenius have as reasonably concluded that the brethren who

who accompanied Peter from Joppa to Cesarea, were all Deacons, because they were commanded to baptize Cornelius and his household? Does not every person, who can read, know that it was the express command of the Spirit, that gave authority to Philip and Ananias, to baptize Paul and the Ethiopian minister of state? If High Church rejoin, "And was not this *sufficient authority without ordination?*" I admit that it undoubtedly was. But, then, what answer does she return to this query, Can that be a *divine canon*, which the Spirit commanded Ananias to violate? Does the Spirit prescribe laws to christians, and then set them the example of breaking them?

(H h) Page 234:

THE proudest prelate in Europe at this day does not certainly know, much less can he prove, that *he* does not descend *quoad spiritualia* from the minion, the *vile scortum* of a Pope; by whom his vile progenitor was raised *per saltum* from a layman, and a flagitious layman too, to the Episcopal dignity. Only produce your authentic genealogy: we shall then know what to think of your progenitors.

(I i) Page 239.

BRUNO, Bishop of Segni, informs us that Leo IX. who was his namesake till he was raised from the See of Toul to the Pontificate, solemnly and firmly declared, that he should look upon his election at Worms as absolutely

ly

ly null, unless it were followed by a free unbiassed election by the clergy and people of Rome; urging, that this was required by the canons. The biographer farther informs us, that Leo went to Rome in the habit of a pilgrim, and was there unanimously elected, amidst the loudest acclamations. See Brun. V. S. Leonis.

(J j) Page 239.

THE 24th Canon of the Fourth Council of Lateran, during the pontificate of Innocent III. prescribes laws, which were to be observed in all elections, and appoints the ecclesiastics, who do not conform to those laws, to be deprived of the benefices, to which they have been *irregularly elected*, and to be declared incapable of ever holding any other. Nay, those who but *approve* of unlawful elections, are suspended from the exercise of their office, and the enjoyment of their benefices.

(K k) Page 246.

GREGORY VII. Urban II. and Pascal II. contended that the right of confirmation and investiture is a spirituality; and this was one of the reasons urged by them for wresting it from laymen. At the pacification in 1121, between the Emperor and Calixtus II. it was agreed, that the Emperor should give investiture, not with the ring and crozier, which were understood to be symbols of a spiritual power, but with the imperial sceptre.

(L l) Page 270.

“ THE Church is a select society or *number of people*, called or selected by some person or persons, having *authority* for that purpose; and as the kingdom of Christ is declared to be not of this world, the subjects of that kingdom, or the members of his church, must be considered as called out of, or from, the world that lieth in wickedness, that having delivered them from the power of darkness, he might translate them into the kingdom of his dear Son.”—Does this definition describe the Church of Rome accurately, at the time that a Reformation was thought to be necessary? The members of that church were called *out of the world of wickedness* by the Pope, who, no doubt, had sufficient authority, being Peter’s successor, and the Vicar of Christ! and called *into* a world of fully as *great* wickedness, to speak moderately—a world in which they might, if they had money, purchase impunity for all practicable crimes, and even (if we may believe Tetzel) for crimes that are *not* practicable! a world of idolatry, superstition, and will-worship! And yet, because the Romish clergy had *authority*, founded on the Episcopal succession, this same world of idolatry and iniquity, “this habitation of demons, this hold of every foul spirit, this cage of every unclean and hateful bird,” was—the kingdom of God’s dear Son!

(M m) Page 278.

THE Parliament of England *enacted*, that Edward’s liturgy “was composed by the aid of the Holy
“ Ghost.

“ Ghost.” This enactment is frequently appealed to by Bishops, who use the eucharistic service of Edward VI.’s liturgy. Hence it would appear, that those prelates consider the Parliament of England to have been a very competent judge of an affair of the kind ; and far be it from me to dispute the point with them !

(N n) Page 283.

IS not this very decent language? The illustrious characters, who were engaged in effecting the revolution, and settling our present happy frame of government, were long revered as the glory of our country, as well as, under Providence, its best benefactors. But now—the reverend dignitaries of the Church of England, who owe to those men their dignities in a *Protestant* church in that country, compare them, without ceremony, to a *lawless banditti* ! Whom does the Archdeacon mean to flatter by this fine compliment to the memory of our deliverers at the Revolution? Not surely the present royal family, who owe the crown of these realms, as *he* owes his dignity, to the Revolution ! Not surely the Peers of the realm, nor the Commons, who are indebted for the secure enjoyment of their high privileges, (privileges, to which there were never any like in any other nation) to the same grand transaction ! The Archdeacon speaks of his retaining his pastoral character, *after* his having it no longer in his power to feed his particular flock. Neither christian antiquity nor common sense know any thing of a pastoral character without a particular flock to *feed* ! A *pastoral* character without a flock to *feed* ! Will High Church never cease to insult our understanding with such palpable con-

traditions in terms?—And, let me remark, that the act of deprivation would have been nugatory, and would have exposed the government and legislature of the country to universal ridicule, if it could have been understood to leave the deprived clergy at liberty to execute the Episcopal office, and other functions of the christian ministry, *wherever* they pleased, if only they did not feed the particular flocks, from the charge of which they had been deposed. It would have been, in reality, equivalent to saying to the deprived clergy, “Gentlemen, You may teach rebellion *at large*, or wherever you please; but you must not confine your labours in this way to your former parishes and dioceses.” Would not this have been a most politic legislative provision for the safety of the new government, and of our renovated constitution?

(O o) Page 291.

THE *Lecturer* calls your church a *party*, and is rebuked; *your* church, a mere handful, like “the gleaning grapes, when the vintage is done,” in comparison of the great body of the established church. Our *reformers*, during almost the whole reigns of Mary and James, were, I presume, nearly nineteen-twentieths of the population of the country. And yet, I conclude, that there is nothing reprehensible in calling *them* a *party*, from this circumstance, that Bishop Skinner has so denominated them.

(P p) Page 297.

THE house was crowded; and when the butcher, who was a fat man, began to grow warm, he disencumbered himself of his wig, and put it on the head of his mastiff, who had accompanied him to the pit.

(Q q) Page 302.

TO do justice to the memory of Charles II. he sincerely intended to keep faith with the Presbyterians in Scotland, although he very much disliked their religion. The king was always averse to the restoration of Episcopacy in this country. We owe that favour to the bigotry of Lord Clarendon, or to the fears, which that minister entertained, of the danger to be apprehended to the monarchy, from the establishment of *presbytery* as our national religion.

(R r) Page 303.

MY argument does not require me to take particular notice of the fraud and perfidy, the violence and outrageous cruelty, with which Episcopacy was introduced into Scotland in the reign of Charles II. in 1661, and supported for twenty-seven years. Whether it be the cause of God or not, it was certainly maintained, in this unfortu-

nate country, by methods, which He never either prescribed or authorized. The histories of those unhappy times, whether written by Episcopal or Presbyterian authors, teem with such horrors, that if the principal facts were not proved by the records of Parliament and of the Privy Council, they would scarcely be believed. No wonder that Popery and Prelacy, which, in *this* country at least, were “brethren in iniquity,” have been long “connected in the language of the vulgar!” If to this we add the general character of the Episcopal clergy in respect of piety, morals, and literature, as they are described by all the historians of that period, we shall be obliged to acknowledge, that however *venerable the remains* may be (and, as you know them better than I, I shall not contradict your account of them) the establishment, when it was in all the glory of its pristine state, was not much suited to inspire veneration. Leighton soon left it, because he was ashamed of his connection with his brethren, and early discovered, that, by continuing to hold his bishopric, he could be of no use to religion. Nairn, Charteris, and Burnett, could not be prevailed on to accept the superintendence of such men as the inferior clergy, nor to connect themselves with the Episcopal Bench. Time did not improve the Episcopal clergy of Scotland. It is well known that Episcopacy was favoured at Court *after* the Revolution, and that if its clergy in this country had possessed either wisdom or virtue, and if the violence of the High Church party had not defeated every plan of comprehension that was proposed in England, (it being a rule with High Church never to make the *least* concession for the sake of peace and mutual love!) King William would not have agreed to the abolition of Episcopacy in Scotland. But the mad bigotry of High Church in England, and the folly and prostitute principles of the Episcopal clergy here,—blasted every prospect of es-

tablishing the same ecclesiastical government in the two sister kingdoms. I would not be understood to defend or excuse the violence of some of the Presbyterians, after the Revolution, toward their Episcopal brethren. But they had suffered. They were, so to speak, bleeding at the wounds inflicted by their rivals. And they were not all what they ought to have been. See *Life of Mr. Carstairs, and Letters, &c.*

(S s) Page 306.

THE age and country, in which he lived, and the fraternity, with which his acceptance of a Scottish mitre connected him, were unworthy of a man of Leighton's profound learning, extensive and enlightened benevolence, and sublime piety. Let not the remarks I have made on the characters of some of his colleagues and contemporaries be called personal abuse, which I scorn as a disgrace to any cause. Those remarks are too well founded: and if truth be satire, it is not the fault of the relater.

(T t) Page 312.

THE Lecturer takes no notice of the fact, which I have urged in Lett. XXXII. that the deprived Bishops, both in England and Scotland, were, in reality, divested of their Episcopal authority by the Act of deprivation; which renders the consecration of the College Bishops as farcical, as human ingenuity, if it had been exerted for the purpose, could have made it.

(U u) Page 330.

HAVING nothing to urge against the conclusions, which the Lecturer draws from the baptism of Cornelius and his household by "the brethren" from Joppa, you lay great stress "on the previous falling of the Holy Ghost on those first fruits of the Gentiles." The falling of the Holy Ghost on Cornelius and his family was sufficient authority for Peter to admit them into the christian church by baptism: so, indeed, he says himself, Acts x. 47. But surely it gave him no authority at all to command the *brethren from Joppa* to baptize them. Could not Peter have baptized them himself? Unquestionably. And he would have done so, instead of commanding laymen to do it, if he had been a high churchman.

(V v) Page 335.

THIS, by the bye, has probably inspired that *corporation spirit, l'esprit du corps*, as the French express it, which the clergy have been accused of cherishing to excess, and of which I never knew the original cause before.

(W w) Page 336.

LET me ask the Anti-jacobin, why he, knowing so well, and believing so firmly, that the *corporation* or collegiate form is the genuine primitive mode of divine Episco-

Episcopacy, adheres, in this age of the prevalence of heresy and schism, to a church, which got quit of its Episcopal College, as soon as it began to fancy, that the *copiosum corpus sacerdotum* of Cyprian does not imply the collegiate form of Episcopacy, and is not primitive order? Why have not we heard of the formation of a Cyprianic *corpus sacerdotum* at Stirling, which would be a very proper station for a Gleggite College of Bishops; the members of which, if they were all like their founder, would be equally free from the suspicion of heresy themselves, and zealous for its suppression? The Anti-jacobin is quite amazed, that the Lecturer's biographer, whom he very justly calls an amiable man, and treats accordingly, did not give up his living long ago, and join the Independents. Has not the Lecturer's biographer some reason to be surprized in his turn, at the Anti-jacobin's conduct? To make demands on the conscience of other men, is one of the cheapest and easiest methods of acquiring the character of religious, that has yet been invented; and like most other *very* useful inventions, it is in daily and very general use. To listen to the demands of one's own conscience, after one is fixed in a tolerably comfortable place, and perhaps has hopes of making it better; this is not quite so convenient, and therefore *prudent* men are never guilty of indiscretions of the kind.

(X x) Page 345.

LET any one read the two pages of the *Vindication* referred to in the Text, and judge, whether the writer does not incline to the belief of those who think, that the apostles first divided the earth among them, each tak-

ing a particular portion, which he was to evangelize; and when that was done, became the Bishops, each of his own *portio gregis*. But what says the New Testament?

(Y y) Page 373.

SUCH language betrays inattention to the most notorious facts. Not only had Episcopacy persecuted its rival for twenty-six years, but it was the first aggressor in the lengthened contest, that was carried on from the introduction of Regent Morton's *Tulchan* Bishops, down to 1689. It dispossessed Presbytery of its natural, christian, and legal rights, and, from the year after the Restoration to the Revolution, treated it with a barbarity, the contemplation of which, as that barbarity is exhibited in the faithful page of history, is one of the best receipts that I know, for making the heart sick, and Scotchmen ashamed of their country. If then, Presbytery, when it became *its* turn to triumph, had measured back to your "venerable church," what it had received from her, it would, instead of being *strange*, have been precisely what *was to be* expected, whether your church looked for it or not.

(Z z) Page 383.

I DO not know that a lawyer recommends to his clients to study any laws whatever, but those on which he exacts his fees. He may give them, by way of instructing them

them, a fight of the "Book of Rates." But he will not trouble them with poring over either the Pandects, or Coke upon Lyttleton.

(3 A) Page 384.

IT deserves the notice of the admirers of the British Critic, that the *literati*, who conduct that journal, seem not to have known, *till somebody told them*, that the principles maintained in Dr. Campbell's *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*, are very exceptionable! It is also worthy of remark, that those learned gentlemen publish their unqualified applause of Bishop Skinner's vindication of himself, in the end of his Introduction, from the charge of illiberality of sentiment! See their Critique on Skinner's Vindication of Primitive Truth and Order.

(3 B) Page 385.

COMPARE the sentiments published in this part of your Vindication, with the VIth *Article* of the Church of England, all whose Articles you lately signed, and publicly defend in a printed sermon.

(3 C) Page 389.

N. B. Mr. Jones is pouring forth a vehement
phi-

philippic against schism. But what would Mr. Jones have called schism? Undoubtedly separation from the Church of England (which was established by Parliament!) if the separatist live in England; or, at any rate, separation from all churches of Episcopal construction. The criminality then, of what Mr. Jones deemed schism, must result from the full and clear establishment of the fact, not only that proper Episcopacy was instituted in his church by our Lord, but that the adoption of it is clearly enjoined in scripture, to all christians, as a condition of salvation;—so clearly, that “if it be hid, it is hid to them only that are lost, in whom the God of this world hath blinded the minds of them that believe not.” But who will dare to aver, that proper Episcopacy, or, indeed, any particular mode of ecclesiastical government, is clearly instituted in scripture, and the adoption of it expressly enjoined? I must do the Primate of Scotland the justice to acknowledge, that he is so far from shewing such audacity, that he confesses, with most exemplary candor, that the very model set up by the apostles (who *instituted* no form of church government, no more than their master) is not so much as mentioned by the sacred writers “in express and positive terms.” What then, should hinder an English dissenter, or a Scotch Presbyterian, to send you and Mr. Jones to destruction as schismatics, because “you follow not with him,” just as you send *him* to destruction, because he “follows not with you?” I know of nothing to hinder him, but a greater share than you possess, of common judgment, and of the candid and benign spirit of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.

(3 D) Page 390.

EVEN *Romanists*, of the present day, admit (at least the enlightened part of them admit) that good men, who differ from *them*, shall be saved. High Church alone, in this enlightened age, possesses exclusively, the honour of grasping the thunder-bolts of omnipotence, and of “ dealing damnation around the land, on all whom *she* judges “ the foes of God.”

ERRATA.

- | Page. | Page. |
|---|---|
| 38, l. 24, for <i>testimony</i> read <i>testimonies</i> . | 222, l. 10, for <i>these</i> read <i>their</i> . |
| 44, l. 3, for <i>implicitly</i> read <i>explicitly</i> . | 224, note, for <i>Hodoardi</i> read <i>Flodoardi</i> . |
| 45, l. 8, for <i>stamped</i> read <i>vamped</i> . | 228, l. 29, for <i>Popess</i> read <i>Papess</i> . |
| 45, last line, for <i>he</i> read <i>she</i> . | 229, l. 14 for <i>Page</i> read <i>Pagi</i> . |
| 48, l. 11, for <i>expound</i> read <i>expounding</i> . | ib. l. 16, for <i>Popess</i> read <i>Papess</i> ' |
| 52, l. 27, expunge <i>if</i> . | ib. l. 26, for <i>that is true</i> read <i>that it is true</i> . |
| 53, l. 12, for <i>on</i> read <i>in</i> . | 250, l. 18, for <i>chairs</i> read <i>chair</i> . |
| 56, l. 17, for <i>customs</i> read <i>custom</i> . | ib. l. 19, for <i>was</i> read <i>were</i> . |
| 62, l. 24, for <i>inconsistent</i> read <i>consistent</i> . | 257, l. 29, for <i>absolutely to accept</i> read <i>refusing absolutely to accept</i> . |
| 65, l. 2, before <i>schismatical</i> insert <i>a</i> . | 263, l. 12, for <i>in</i> read <i>of</i> . |
| 76, l. 27, for <i>church</i> read <i>churches</i> . | ib. l. 17, for <i>ways</i> read <i>way</i> . |
| 78, ll. 15, 16, for <i>Bishops and Presbyters</i> read <i>Bishops or Presbyters</i> . | ib. l. 27, for 31 read 51. |
| 79, l. 27, for <i>Deacon</i> read <i>Deacons</i> . | 267, l. 5, for <i>would</i> read <i>could</i> . |
| 86, l. 1, for <i>right</i> read <i>rite</i> . | 288, l. 31, for <i>has</i> read <i>have</i> . |
| 87, l. 6, for <i>any farther</i> read <i>any farther</i> . | 301, l. 4, for <i>these</i> read <i>those</i> . |
| 92, l. 20, for <i>perspicuity</i> read <i>perspicacity</i> . | 307, l. 8, for <i>might</i> read <i>must</i> . |
| 95, l. 29, for <i>vehicle</i> , read <i>vehicle</i> . | 314, l. 10, for <i>has</i> read <i>he has</i> . |
| 99, l. 11, for <i>on</i> read <i>in</i> . | 316, l. 9, for <i>amout</i> read <i>amount</i> . |
| 109, l. 17, for <i>division</i> read <i>divisors</i> . | 318, l. 31, for <i>was none</i> read <i>was ever done</i> . |
| 119, l. 7, for <i>in</i> read <i>on</i> . | 329, l. 21, for <i>whenever</i> read <i>wherever</i> . |
| 126, l. 4, for <i>on</i> read <i>to</i> . | 344, l. 6, for <i>that</i> read <i>than</i> . |
| 126, l. 26, for <i>Halleri</i> read <i>Italleri</i> . | 349, l. 10, for <i>to you</i> read <i>for you</i> . |
| 127, l. 11, for <i>Halleri</i> read <i>Italleri</i> . | 388, l. 23, for <i>allnde</i> read <i>allude</i> . |
| 150, l. 6, expunge <i>If</i> . | 389, l. 13, for <i>fishermen</i> read <i>fisherman</i> . |
| 152, l. 9, for <i>nieces</i> read <i>wives</i> . | 593 l. 14, for <i>establishment</i> read <i>establishments</i> . |
| 153, l. 3, for <i>from</i> read <i>for</i> . | 399. l. 1, for <i>examples</i> read <i>example</i> . |
| 167, ll. 8, 9, for <i>interference</i> read <i>intercourse</i> . | 404, l. 8, for <i>thus</i> read <i>this</i> . |
| 173, l. 12, for <i>regard</i> read <i>regards</i> . | 411, l. 7, expunge <i>can</i> . |
| 180, note l. 9, for <i>the</i> read <i>their</i> . | 412, l. 7, for <i>in the contests of such a faction</i> read <i>in contests with such a faction</i> . |
| 191, l. 21, for <i>matters</i> read <i>matter</i> , | 420, l. 28, for <i>Malchins</i> read <i>Malchus</i> . |
| 193, l. 2, for <i>a</i> substitute <i>A</i> . | 433, l. 14, for <i>is understood</i> read <i>is not understood</i> . |
| 197, l. 11, for <i>that</i> read <i>and</i> . | 442, l. 7, for <i>dissatisfaction</i> read <i>disaffection</i> . |
| 198, l. 31, for <i>canon</i> read <i>canons</i> . | ib. l. 4, for <i>confusion</i> read <i>profusion</i> , |
| 207, l. 26, for <i>reduced</i> read <i>seduced</i> . | |
| 217, l. 2, for <i>which</i> read <i>who</i> . | |
| 219, l. 19, for <i>in the</i> read <i>in an</i> . | |
| 220, l. 20, for <i>Hortiensis</i> read <i>Hostiensis</i> . | |
| 222, l. 2, for <i>requisite</i> read <i>prerequisite</i> . | |



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